CONTRIBUTIONS ON TIBETAN LANGUAGE, HISTORY AND CULTURE

EDITED BY

ERNST STEINKELLNER AND HELMUT TAUSCHER

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CSOMA DE KŐRÖS SYMPOSIUM HELD AT VELM-VIENNA, AUSTRIA, 13-19 SEPTEMBER 1981

VOL. 1

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS PUBLISHERS
PRIVATE LIMITED • DELHI

First Indian Edition : Delhi, 1995

ISBN : 81-208-1040-6 (Vol.I)
ISBN : 81-208-1039-2 (Set)

Also available at :

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
41 U.A., Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi 110 007
120 Royapettah High Road, Mylapore, Madras 600 004
16 St. Mark's Road, Bangalore 560 001
Ashok Rajpath, Patna 800 004
Chowk, Varanasi 221 001

PRINTED IN INDIA

BY JAINENDRA PRAKASH JAIN AT SHRI JAINENDRA PRESS,
A-45 NARAINA, PHASE I, NEW DELHI 110 028 AND PUBLISHED BY
NARENDRA PRAKASH JAIN FOR MOTILAL BANARSIDASS PUBLISHERS
PRIVATE LIMITED, BUNGALOW ROAD, DELHI 110 007

CONTENTS

Vol.1

Vol.2: Contributions on Tibetan and Buddhist Religion and Philosophy

ACCOUNT
OF THE
CSOMA DE KÖRÖS SYMPOSIUM
VELM - VIENNA

The Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies of the University of Vienna organized an international conference of Tibetan, Central Asian and Buddhist Studies as "Csoma de Körös Symposium" in Velm, near Vienna, between September 13 and 19, 1981. The patronage was taken by the Austrian Minister of Science and Research, Dr.Hertha Firnberg.

58 scholars from Canada, PR of China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, France, GFR, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Switzerland, USA and Austria participated in the meeting as full members.

The Symposium received messages of support from L.Ligeti (Budapest), R.A.Stein (Paris), W.Heissig (Bonn), T.V.Wylie (Seattle, C.Vogel (Bonn), M.Aris (Oxford), M.Hahn (Bonn), K.Sagaster (Bonn), J.Imaeda (Thimphu), R.A.Thurman (Amherst).

The Organizing Committee consisted of: E.Steinkellner, H.Tauscher, T.Much.

Program

13 September, Sunday

Addresses of Welcome

14 September, Monday

Morning session. Chair: P.Kværne

R.A.Miller (Seattle): The dating and authorship of the first two grammatical treatises reconsidered

R.H.Polmeijer (Amsterdam): Syllabism in Early Tibetan

R.E.Emmerick (Hamburg): Some lexical items from the *Siddhasāra*

A.Róna-Tas (Szeged): Studies in spoken Tibetan I. Comments on an Amdowa-text

B.Shefts Chang - Kun Chang (Berkely): Tense and aspect in spoken Tibetan

G.Kara (Budapest): Grum-Gržimajlo's sBra nag glossary

Afternoon session. Chair: G.Uray

Ngawangthondup Narkyid (Cleveland): The origin and development of the present Tibetan writing system

A.Pinsker SJ (Vienna): Mitteilungen des P. Johann Grueber über Tibet

J.Kolmaš (Prague): Ferdinand Stoliczka (1838-1874). The life and work of the Czech explorer in India and High Asia

C.J.Beckwith (Bloomington): The revolt of 755 in Tibet

Fang-Kuei Li (Honolulu): Notes on sTag sgra Klu khong

Evening

Reception given by the Presidency of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Participants received by Prof. Dr.Manfred Mayrhofer, Secretary of the phil.-hist. Klasse

15 September, Tuesday

Morning session. Chair: L.Petech

Wang Yao (Peking): Lha btsun Chos kyi rin chen, ex-emperor of the Southern Sung dynasty, as a monk in Sa skya

J.Szerb (Budapest): Glosses on the œuvre of bla ma 'Phags pa

E.Sperling (Bloomington): Did the early Ming emperors attempt to implement a "divide and rule" policy in Tibet?

F.Bischoff (Bloomington): Die Wu-T'ai-shan Darstellung von 1846

D.Schuh (Bonn): Über die Entstehung von Urkunden in der tibetischen Herrscherkanzlei

H.Uebach (München): Reisebegleitschreiben der Panchen Lamas für Geistliche aus Ladakh

Afternoon session. Chair: R.A.Miller

Vijay Kranti (Delhi): Tibetan refugee community in India

P.Kværne (Oslo): Preliminary report on the study of some Bon pc thankas

G.Uray (Budapest): Zu den Spuren des Manichäismus und des Nestorianismus im alten Tibet, 8.-10.Jahrhundert (Vorläufige Bemerkungen)

S.G.Karmay (Paris): Bon mentioned as a belief in an unnoticed Tun-huang manuscript

E.De Rossi-Filibeck (Rome): The transmission lineage of the *gCod* teaching according to dGe 'dun rgya mts'o, the 2nd Dalai Lama

L.S.Kawamura (Calgary): Mi pham's *mKhas 'jug* and the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra*

Evening

H.Harrer (Kitzbühel): Latest films

16 September, Wednesday

Morning session. Chair: L.Schmithausen

Ch.Lindtner (Copenhagen): Nāgārjuna's *Vyavahārasiddhi*

O.H.Pind (Århus): Emptiness - towards a semiological determination of emptiness in Mādhyamika discourse

N.Katz (Williamstown): Tibetan hermeneutics and the *yāna* controversy

D.Seyfort Ruegg (London): Does the Mādhyamika maintain a thesis? - A Tibetan discussion of a controversial point

T.Tillemans (Lausanne): The "neither one nor many" argument for *śūnyatā* and its Tibetan interpretation

M.Kalff (Zollikon): Some thoughts on rGyal tshab rje's interpretation of Nāgārjuna's Madhyamaka philosophy in his commentary to the *Ratnāvalī*

Free Afternoon

17 September, Thursday

Morning session. Chair: D.Seyfort Ruegg

K.Mimaki (Kyoto): The *Blo gsal grub mtha'* and the Mādhyamika classification in the *grub mtha'* literature

B.Banerjee (Santiniketan): The concept of *bodhicitta*

L.Schmithausen (Hamburg): On the *darśanamārga* of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* in the interpretation of Tibetan commentators

M.Sato (Morioka): Die Madhyamaka-Philosophie in der Sa skya pa-Schule

Afternoon session. Chair: J.Takasaki

P.W.Williams (Bristol): On *raṅ rig*

R.Kaschewsky (Bonn): Gibt es eine lamaistische "scholastische Methode"?

E.Steinkellner (Vienna): *tshad ma'i skyes bu*

M.M.Broido (Oxford): *bśad thabs*: Some Tibetan theories of tantric exegesis

Achok Rimpoche (Vienna): The importance of love and compassion in Buddhism

Evening. Chair: H.Eimer

Vijai Kranti (Delhi): Tibetans in India (slide-show)

C.Clarke (Oxford): Slides illustrating his paper

Chair: D.S.Ruegg

Madhyamaka - discussions and information

18 September, Friday

Morning session. Chair: G.Kara

S.Dietz: (Goettingen): The author of the *Suhṛllekha* (*bŚes pa'i phrin yig*)

H.Tauscher (Vienna): Some problems of textual history in connection with the Tibetan translations of the *Madhyamakāvatāraḥ* and its commentary

G.Bethlenfalvy (Budapest): Notes on the Kanjur

J.Takasaki (Tokyo): On the *Myaṅ 'das*

Eimer (Bonn): Die Auffindung des *bKa' chems ka khol ma*. Quellenkritische Überlegungen

P.Klafkowski (Posnania): Studies in the Tibetan and Himalayan Bible translations

Afternoon session. Chair: D.Schuh

J.L.Panglung (München): Die Überreste des Kloster Ñar ma in Ladakh

M.Helffer (Paris): Remarques sur les instruments de musique liés à la pratique du Véhicule des Tantra, d'après un texte bon po de 'Ja mtshon sñiṅ po

G.Clarke (Oxford): The Great and Little Tradition in Yolmo, Nepal

Plenary session

Evening: Short communications. Chair: M.Helffer

P.Klafkowski (Posnania): Once again about the Tashe Thing Tale

B.C.Olschak (Zürich): Early Himalayan immigration

H.Stang (Oslo): The naming of Činggis Khān - A new-old view (presented by P.Kværne)

D.Schuh (Bonn): Possibilities of tibetological research in China

H.Eimer (Bonn): Some results of recent Kanjur-research

19 September, Saturday

Morning session. Chair: R.E.Emmerick

G.Somlai (Budapest): A medical chart

K.Uray-Köhalmi und G.Uray (Budapest): Bemerkungen zu den Gesar-Illuminationen der Sammlung Armin Schwaninger

J.Karsten (Bonn): The *ya sor* officials and the secular festivals following the *sMon lam chen mo*

Closing session

Plenary Session

1) G.Kara, Head of the Oriental Department of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, presented the following invitation:

On behalf of the Csoma de Körös Society and of the Chair of Inner Asian Studies of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, I have the honour to invite the Csoma de Körös Symposium to be held next in Budapest in September of 1984, the year of the bicentennial anniversary of Alexander Csoma de Körös's birth. I hope this invitation will be accepted by the members of the 3rd Csoma de Körös Symposium, and the noble tradition of our learned and learning meetings of Tibetan and Central Asian Studies will successfully be continued.

2) Proposals of the Committee on Resolutions
The participants of the Symposium formed a Committee on Resolutions, consisting of R.A.Miller, D.Schuh and K.Uray-Köhalmy. The following resolutions were presented and explained by R.A.Miller:

1. *The Symposium took notice of the information given by its Hungarian members, that in 1984 the Hungarian Academy of Sciences plans to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the birth of Csoma de Körös. The members of the Symposium express their conviction that this act of homage will contribute a major impact to the development of the studies begun by Csoma de Körös and will serve as a welcome means for international cooperation in these studies.*

2. *For endorsing the anniversary commemorations, the Symposium recommends to the Hungarian Csoma de Körös Bicentenial Committee the following:*

a. *Appropriate measures should be taken, so that commemorations, lectures and other solemn occasions shall be organized in those countries and places which were connected with the life and activity of Csoma de Körös.*

b. *The Symposium endorses that a proposal should be made to the UNESCO to include the bicentenary of Csoma de Körös in its program in 1984.*

c. *The members of the Symposium offer their possible personal contribution to the international commemoration and authorize the Permanent International Committee of this Symposium to act as a coordinating body for the members.*

3. *The Symposium acknowledges the information, that in accordance with item 4 of the resolution passed at the Mátrafüred session, 1976, appropriate measures have been taken to publish the reprinting of the collected works of Csoma de Körös. In view of the 200th anniversary and the international importance of this publication the Symposium recommends to the UNESCO to support this publication.*

4. *The Symposium acknowledges with satisfaction that in accordance with item 5 of the resolution passed in Mátrafüred a Bulletin has been published. It recommends to the competent authorities to continue the publication of this Bulletin, which it considers a useful tool in disseminating information within its scholarly field.*

5. *The members of the Symposium gratefully accept the proposal of Professor Steinkellner to publish the papers read at this session under the title "Proceedings of the 3rd Csoma de Körös Symposium" as a special volume of the "Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde". The protocols of the Symposium shall be published, as usual, in the Bulletin.*

6. *The members of the Symposium accept the invitation of the Csoma de Körös Society and the chair of Inner Asian Studies of the University of Budapest forwarded by Professor György Kara that the next Symposium shall be held in 1984 in Budapest.*

7. *The Committee on Resolutions proposes to the members here present the election to the Permanent International Committee of the Csoma de Körös Symposium the following slate of members.*

Ś.Bira (Mongolia)
W.Heissig (GFR)
G.Kara (Hungary)
E.I.Kychanov (USSR)
L.Petech (Italy)
A.Róna-Tas (Hungary) [President]
E.Steinkellner (Austria)
J.Takasaki (Japan)
M.Taube (GDR)
G.Uray (Hungary)
T.V.Wylie (USA)

3) Resolutions of the Plenary Session of the Symposium
The plenary session passed the proposals of the Committee on Resolutions unanimously, without amendment, and requested the organizers to forward the resolution of the Symposium to the Csoma de Kőrös Society, the Chair of Inner Asian Studies of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

4) Election of the Permanent International Committee
The scholars proposed as members of the Permanent International Committee in item 7 of the proposal of the Committee on Resolutions were elected by the Symposium.

5) J.Takasaki, as Secretary-General of the Organizing Committee, presented the 1st circular of the XXXI. International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa (CISHAAN), 31 August - 7 September 1983, Tokyo and Kyoto.

6) C.I.Beckwith announced the formation of a "T'ang Studies Society" and communicated information on a new journal, "The Journal of the Tibet Society".

7) The plenary session ended with a stimulating discussion on the future format of the Symposium, e.g. the introduction of special panels and other related matters.

Closing Session

1) Csoma de Kőrös Medal, 1981

On behalf of the Csoma de Kőrös Society A.Róna-Tas presented the Csoma de Kőrös Medal to Professor Ernst Steinkellner *for his scholarly achievements in Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, and for his contributions to international cooperation in these fields.*

2) Expression of thanks of the participants of the Symposium
E.Sperling and G.Bethlenfalvy expressed the thanks of the participants:

We, the participants in the Third Csoma de Kőrös Symposium held in Velm, Austria, from the 13th to the 19th of September 1981, wish to ex-

press our sincere gratitude to all who have made it possible for us to meet each other at this amicable and stimulating conference. We feel that it is fitting for us to acknowledge the efforts of those whose work and concern allowed us to devote ourselves to various aspects of Tibetology without thoughts of anything but our scholarly passion. In particular we wish to acknowledge our debts of gratitude to several individuals and institutions.

We acknowledge with gratitude the patronage of Frau Dr.Hertha Firnberg, the Austrian Minister for Science and Research, and thank her for endeavouring to hold in Vienna a tibetological conference that was both scientific and international in nature.

We would like to thank Academian Prof.Dr.Manfred Mayrhofer and the Austrian Academy of Sciences for their support and encouragement for our meeting and for warmly welcoming us, as fellow scholars, to Vienna.

We recognize also the contribution of the Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies of the University of Vienna both to Tibetology and to the creation of a warm and hospitable climate in Vienna for the convening of a symposium devoted to Tibetan Studies.

We wish to express our deep appreciation to the president of our symposium, Prof.Dr.Ernst Steinkellner, for putting so much of his time and energy into the running of our conference. His efforts on our behalf were such that all of us were able to carry on our activities and gatherings blissfully unaware of the day to day details necessary to the functioning of the symposium.

We wish to also thank the members of the Organizing Committee for the Third Csoma de Körös Symposium, Prof.Dr.Ernst Steinkellner, Dr.Helmut Tauscher and Mr.Torsten Much, for a meeting that was so well-planned and smoothly run as we could wish for.

Finally, we gratefully acknowledge the hospitality and the concern for our comfort shown by the management and staff of the Educational Center of the Union of Privately Employed Workers, Velm, who made our stay there a pleasant and relaxed one.

To all concerned we express our sincere gratitude for an enjoyable and scholastically satisfying conference.

N.Narkyid expressed special thanks on behalf of the Tibetan participants.

3) Concluding address by E.Steinkellner

E.Steinkellner, president of the Symposium, emphasized his conviction that the tradition of the Csoma de Körös Symposia should be continued. The effort of the Hungarian colleagues should be internationally endorsed, and future Symposia should eventually be organized outside of Hungary again.

PREFACE

The Csoma de Körös-Symposium held at Velm-Vienna in 1981 gives further proof of the worldwide expanding development of a more and more differentiated Tibetology. Alongside of the traditionally established divisions of tibetological research it is the new presence of the study of the theoretical efforts and traditions within Tibetan religions and philosophy which we are tempted to note as a distinguishing feature of the Symposium at Velm-Vienna.

This hitherto sometimes problematic division of tibetological research is finally emerging as a valid means of approaching the specific meaning and import of Tibetan culture. The new general accessibility of most of the important literary documents, a noticeable effort to overcome the useless partiality for either an interpretation orientated towards the Indian heritage only, or relying on Tibetan indigenous sources only, and the increasing application of a critical historical methodology combined with the progress of sound philological conceptions in editorial work, signify a new period of research in these studies.

That the originality of the Tibetan masters goes well beyond their fascinating achievements in Buddhist exegesis only, has clearly been recognized. But the contents, variety, details, and general import of their theoretical thought are yet to be defined and explained on the basis of a philological preparation and interpretation of the sources for most of the available masters and traditions.

To render the Proceedings more easily accessible to a larger public we decided to publish them, systematically divided, in two volumes, and we gratefully acknowledge the expert advice of D.Seyfort Ruegg in this matter.

Of the papers delivered at the Symposium, Kolmaš' paper was published separately as No.9 of our series (Ferdinand Stoliczka (1838-1874): The Life and Work of the Czech Explorer in India and High Asia, Wien 1982). The papers of Csetri, Finckh, and the second paper of Wang could

not be presented at the Symposium for various reasons. While some of the references in the texts of the papers are related to the time of the conference, the footnotes often include references of a later date, too.

Out of respect for the traditional individuality of scholars in Tibetan studies we decided not to force the system of transliteration used by us upon our colleagues. Thus, the system in use at the University of Vienna, and recommended, as well, by the "Verein Deutscher Bibliothekare" and the "American Library Association" has been accepted, irrespective of their own working habits, by most of the contributors in order to facilitate the editorial work, but not by all. It will not irritate the specialist, but we apologize to the general reader, and ask for his toleration of this superficial idiosyncrasy in tibetological circles. The system used in most of the articles transliterates the crucial items in the following way:

ང་	ṅa	ཅ་	ca	ཆ་	cha	ཇ་	ja
ཉ་	ña	ཙ་	tsa	ཚ་	tsha	ཛ་	dza
ཝ་	va	ཞ་	źa	འ་	'a	ཤ་	śa
གཡ–	g.ya						

We would, finally, like to thank Prof. Wang Yao for writing the Chinese characters, Ms. Monika Pemwieser for the care and attentive interest with which she typed and corrected these Proceedings, Mr. Michael Egger for his share in correcting and providing the graphs, Dr. Torsten Much, Dr. János Szerb and Mr. Helmut Krasser for their share in proofreading, and Mr. Ernst Becvar, our printer, for his good advice and pecuniary patience.

Vienna, August 1983

Ernst Steinkellner
Helmut Tauscher

THE REVOLT OF 755 IN TIBET

by

C.I.BECKWITH (Bloomington)

In the year 755 the Tibetan emperor Khri lde gtsug brtsan, better known as Mes Ag tshoms, died.[1] According to the Stag sgra Klu khoṅ inscription at Źol in Lhasa,

> "During the reign of Emperor Khri lde gtsug rtsan, Ṅan lam Klu khoṅ was a loyal *rjeblas*. While 'Bal ldoṅ tsab and Laṅ myes zigs were Great Ministers they became disloyal, and as they injured the person of the emperor the father, Khri lde gtsug rtsan, he went to heaven. They were near to injuring the person of the emperor the son, Khri sroṅ lde brtsan. As they were making the realm of the black-headed Tibetans disorderly, Klu khoṅ disclosed to the emperor the son, Khri sroṅ lde brtsan, evidence of the disloyalty of 'Bal and Laṅ. Then 'Bal and Laṅ truly became disloyal, they were disgraced, and Klu Khoṅ was in favour."[2]

The preceding account is partially confirmed by two notices in the *Old Tibetan Annals*. In the year 755,

> "the soldiers overthrew the father's courtiers ... The servants of Laṅ [and] 'Bal were banished; they were expelled to Mtoṅ-sod."[3]

[1] *THTC* 217: 6950; *CTS* 196a: 5236; *HTS* 216a: 6087. For the romanization used in this paper, please see my article in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 99:2, 1979 (297-313), n.2.

[2] H.E.Richardson, *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa*, London 1952, the South Inscription, text given on pp.16 to 19. The translation is my own. On the term *rjeblas*, see below, n.6.

[3] *OTA*, Sheep year 755/756; *DTT* 56. The sentence omitted (indicated by ellipses) may be related. It is translatable as "Myriarchs for the three myriarchies of Stoṅ-sar were appointed".

In the following year, "the remainder of the wealth of Laṅ [and] 'Bal was counted,"[4] and Khri sroṅ lde brtsan was enthroned as emperor.[5]

In other words, the sequence of events is as follows. In 755, Mes Ag tshoms was killed by two ministers named Laṅ and 'Bal. Stag sgra Klu khoṅ, a high official in charge of payments, perhaps to the army,[6] then presented evidence to Prince Sroṅ lde brtsan that they were disloyal, were causing dissension in the country, and were about to injure him also. This sequence indicates that the alleged disloyalty of the two was not at all obvious. Subsequently, Laṅ and 'Bal really did revolt, they were killed by the army, their property was confiscated, and Klu khoṅ was, one assumes, richly rewarded. In 756, Prince Sroṅ lde brtsan was named Emperor Khri sroṅ lde brtsan, and took the reigns of the government into his hands. There was therefore a hiatus of one year without a formally installed emperor.

Now since there is no record, in Tibetan or Chinese sources, of a succession struggle at the death of Mes Ag tshoms, one is entitled to wonder why Khri sroṅ lde brtsan had so much trouble. The matter is doubly problematic in that Khri sroṅ lde brtsan was thirteen years of age when his father died: his father was certainly killed so that he could take the throne. The boy should therefore have been the uncontested crown prince: Laṅ and 'Bal were probably just fulfilling their duty of ensuring the succession; and the inscription's story about their revolting could be questioned. No reasons are given in the Old Tibetan inscription for the actions of Laṅ, 'Bal, and their supporters. If it were our only source for these events, we would have to assume that the two ministers were simply too powerful for their own good, and were removed in the same way that the Mgar clan ministers had been eliminated in the previous century. However, the traditional accounts, which are primarily concerned with the rise of Buddhism in Tibet, and which do preserve certain ancient sources, must be taken into consideration. According to

---

[4] *OTA*, Ape year 756-757; *DTT* 56.

[5] The Chinese sources (see n.1) do not indicate the lapse of one year.

[6] The word *rjeblas* is unknown outside of Old Tibetan literature. Richardson translated it (1952,20) as "confidential royal work", although he acknowledges that it is a title in his discussion, pp.11-12. Since *rje* can also be a verb meaning "to exchange, barter or trade", and *blas* is another spelling for *glas* (Choskyi gragspa, *Brdadag miṅ-tshig gsalba*, Peking 1957; repr. Tokyo 1972, 583) which means "wage, fee" (for "hireling", *glapa* or *glami*) one may suppose that the officer known as *rjeblas* was in charge perhaps of paying the army (today *glas-dmag* means "mercenaries"), much like the functions of his famous contemporary Khālid b. Barmak, in the mid-eighth century Arab empire. (See Dominique Sourdel, *Le vizirat 'Abbāside*, 2 Vols. Damascus 1959-1960, I, 76-78, 127-133.)

them, there was an anti-Buddhist revolt in Tibet just at this time, beginning either upon the death of Mes Ag tshoms or even earlier, upon the death of Princess Chin-ch'eng in 739, although according to other traditional accounts (as well as current scholarly opinion) there was then little or no Buddhism in Tibet.[7] (What is difficult to understand is that in this latter tradition Laṅ and 'Bal are made out to be pro-Buddhist ministers, while Stag sgra Klu khoṅ is one of the anti-Buddhists. It is apparently impossible, therefore, to reconcile this tradition with that of the Old Tibetan accounts.[8]) One could argue that Stag sgra Klu khoṅ and Khri sroṅ lde brtsan together agreed to eliminate Mes Ag tshom's powerful ministers, so that the ruler would have both more personal power and a strong minister, whose personal loyalty to him was guaranteed by the feudal grants listed in his inscription. Certainly Klu khoṅ's deeds

[7] See P.Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa*, Paris 1952, 189 (et seq.) n.1. For the anti-Buddhist reaction at the time of Princess Chin-ch'eng, see the Old Tibetan and Tanjur accounts mentioned in n.18.

It is most probable that the current opinion, which is not all that critical since it is still largely based on traditional Tibetan accounts, will have to be revised somewhat. See H.E.Richardson, The First Tibetan Chos-Byung, *The Tibet Journal 5:3*, 1980, 62-73.

It is interesting to note that the Skar-chuṅ inscription erected by Khri lde sroṅ brtsan (early ninth century; see H.E.Richardson, The Skar-cung Inscription, *JRAS* 1973, 12-20) clearly specifies Sroṅ brtsan sgam po as the founder of Buddhism in Tibet with the building of *gtsug-lag-khaṅ* (*vihāra*) at Rasa "and so forth", apparently between 641 and 649/650. Furthermore, it mentions the continuation of pro-Buddhist policies under Khri 'dus sroṅ, who is credited with building *gtsug-lag-khaṅ* (apparently between 701 and 703) at Khri rtse in gliṅ "and so forth", and Khri lde gtsug brtsan, who built the *gtsug-lag-khaṅ* of Kwa-cu (presumably after the Tibetan sack of Kua-chou[m] in 727) and Mchiṅ-phu at Brag-mar. Without any pause, or the slightest hint of any trouble, the list continues with the description of Khri sroṅ lde brtsan's activities, wherein it is mentioned only that the ruler built "*vihāras* at the center and the borders, Bsam-yas at Brag-mar, and so on". With the exception of the specific building projects, the language used for the description of each ruler is practically identical, and no distinction is made between the *vihāras* of Samye and Lhasa, etc. In fact, the "first edict of Khri sroṅ lde brtsan" preserved in the *Mkhaspa'i dgāston* specifically mentions the *dge'dun* - the community of monks - of both these *vihāras*. (See G.Tucci, *Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, Rome 1950,46, 97 lines 4-5.)

What is somewhat curious is the fact that the Skar-chuṅ inscription (just as all other published Old Tibetan inscriptions) omits mention of any dissention or suppression of Buddhism at the time of Mes Ag tshoms or his son, while this information is found in passages of one of the imperial edicts of Khri sroṅ lde brtsan and one of the edicts of his son Khri lde sroṅ brtsan dealing with precisely the same subject - the history and establishment of Buddhism in Tibet. Perhaps the affair was thought too unseemly or unsettling for a public inscription. For the texts and translations of these edicts, see Tucci, *op.cit.*, 98-104, 47-50, 51-55.

[8] *Sba* 8, 11; *MD* Ja 75r^{o} (p.38a) ff. Can it be that Laṅ and 'Bal were indeed pro-Buddhist ministers, but that - as the traditional accounts would have it - were slandered by the anti-Buddhist Klu-khoṅ, and then revolted? There is actually nothing in the old Tibetan sources to exclude the possibility that the later sources are correct here.

are praised so highly because Emperor Khri sroṅ lde brtsan himself owed his throne to him. All of this would not, however, explain why the young emperor supported the overthrow of the very ministers who apparently ensured his succession, why he continued to face strong opposition after the victory, or finally, and in particular, why he went to such great lengths to establish a national Buddhist cult, full of legitimizing rulership symbolism, as the state religion. To attempt to answer these questions, it is necessary to reexamine a series of historiographical problems in the preceding emperor's reign. Some of these have hitherto been touched upon briefly by L.Petech in several penetrating notes.[9]

[9] L.Petech, Glosse agli *Annali* di Tun Huang, *Rivista degli studi orientali* 42: 1967, 241-279. Petech summarizes the events and provides some useful insights on pp.255-258. According to him, the name of the *btsanpo gcen* is to be read Lha Balpho, an interpretation supported (apparently unknown to him) by the *T'ung tien*; see below. (It ought to be pointed out, however, that Balpho or Balpo was the name of one of the main imperial palaces at the time, and the passage of the *Annals* in question here c o u l d also be interpreted to mean that his name was Lha only, and that he was deposed from the Balpho capital [*rgyal-sa*]. Furthermore, Petech's identification [p.251] of Poṅ lag raṅ as a place on the Tibetan border, northeast of 'Jaṅ, is puzzling. The name is otherwise unknown, but Petech has equated the Poṅ with the Poṅ in another name, Poṅ khri mu steṅs, mentioned in the *Annals* under the Tiger year 702-3.) Petech concludes that the Princess of Chin-ch'eng was indeed betrothed to the Lha (Balpho) who was dethroned in 705, and that the Lhas-bon who died in 739 was a different person, confused in the later Tibetan sources with Lha Balpho. He could be right. The *T'ung tien*, which is more than a little confused here, states:

> "Ch'i-li-pa-pu [n] died in the early Shen-lung [o] period [705-706]. His son was enthroned. Ch'i-li-nu-hsi-lung [p] was then aged seven *sui* [a] [i.e., eight years old]. (His) grandmother Lu-mo *shih* [q] was made regent. So it was until the fourth month of the third year of the Shen-lung period of Chung-tsung [d] [May-June, 707], (when the T'ang) took a (member of the imperial clan) raised (in the palace), the daughter of Shou-li [r], hereditary Prince of Yung [s], and enfeoffed her as Princess of Chin-ch'eng. She was [to be] sent out to submit (to [?]) the Tibetan *btsanpo*. In the first month of the third year of the Ching-lung [t] period [February-March, 710], (His Highness) went to Shih-p'ing [c] *hsien* [u] to send off the Princess of Chin-ch'eng. ... In the fourteenth year of the T'ien-pao [v] period [755] he died. His son was enthroned. He was named (*hao*) [w] Ch'i-li-hsi-lung-na-tsan [x]. (*TT* 190:1024.)

In other words, according to this version, a *Khri balpo died in 705, and was succeeded by his son Khri 'du(s) sroṅ, who was then eight years old. The prince's grandmother Lu-mo (no doubt for *Mo-lu [y], probably Khri ma lod) was enthroned as regent. In fact, of course, Khri 'dus sroṅ died in 704, and was succeeded by Khri balpo, who was dethroned in 705; Prince Gtsug-ru, the successor-to-be, was then only one year old, and his grandmother Khri ma lod ruled Tibet until 712, when he was eight years old and was enthroned as emperor. On the other hand, this text may simply have inverted the order of rulers: Khri 'dus sroṅ's death was reported in China in 705; his successor was *Khri balpo, and the regent was Khri ma lod. Unfortunately, the confusion in the present version(s) of the *T'ung Tien* may be original to the work, and not much reliance can be placed on its evidence.

Firstly, in 704 the emperor Khri 'dus sroṅ died[10] on a campaign against 'Jaṅ, on the southeastern borders of Tibet. Upon his death a new *btsanpo* was enthroned. This ruler, known only as *btsanpo gcen lha* (or *btsanpo gcen lha balpho*), that is "Lha (Balpho) the emperor, the older brother", in the *Old Tibetan Annals*, was forcibly dethroned in 705,[11] no doubt by the powerful Khri ma lod. Although she probably did this in favour of her infant grandson, Rgyal gtsug ru, no *btsanpo* is mentioned as being installed in his place. According to the Chinese sources, when Khri 'dus sroṅ died,

> "his sons struggled over the succession; after quite a while, the people of the country enthroned Khri 'dus sroṅ's son Khri lde gtsug brtsan as *btsanpo*. He was seven *sui*[a] [eight years old] at the time."[12]

Since the *Annals* agree with this - he was given his imperial reign title in 712 at the age of eight[13] - the question remains: who was ruling in 710 when Princess Chin-ch'eng[b] arrived? For whom were all the marriage negotiations held,[14] long before the birth of the mysteriously-named Rgyal gtsug ru?

[10] *OTA*, Hare year 703/704, Dragon year 704/705; *DTT* 19. In the latter year he was actually campaigning against the Mywa. *DTT* wrongly transliterates this name "myava", and compounds the error in the translation on page 40, where it is given as the "royaume La Myava." The name is no doubt a transcription of the name of the Yunnanese people known in Chinese transcription as the Miao[z]. In the *OTC*, VII (*DTT* 112) it is related that "he campaigned against 'Jaṅ, and taxed the White Mywa. He subjugated the Black Mywa, ..."

[11] *Ibid*. See also n.9 on Balpho.

[12] *CTS* 196a:5226. Cf. *HTS* 216a:6081; *TCTC* 207:6569. These versions differ somewhat. The *TCTC* states that he was seven *nien*[aa], "years" of age, the others state that he was seven *sui*[a], i.e., e i g h t "years old" Chinese style. The *TCTC* also places these events in 703, which is certainly mistaken. The embassy announcing the death of Khri 'dus sroṅ arrived in China in 705, according to the *CTS*, which is probably correct here. For the *TT* version, see n.9.

[13] *OTA*, Rat year 712; *DTT* 20-21.

[14] See Demiéville, *op.cit.*, 2-3 on the negotiations. Petech (pp.257-258) has concluded that the negotiations were held on behalf of "Lha-bal-p^{c}o". The *HTS* names one "grandmother" who sent an envoy requesting a marriage, supposedly in 709. The name, *K'o-tun*[bb], is a correct transcription of her title, Gatun, which is in turn a correct Old Tibetan transcription of the Old Turkic title *qatun*, "queen", or "royal consort". The burial of the *btsanmo* Gatun" of the *Annals* is recorded in *dpyid*, "spring", of (708)/709. Whether or not this is a scribal error for **pyi btsanmo gatun*, "the grandmother, the princess Gatun", there is in any case no problem with the date. Since there are several "grandmothers" mentioned in the *OTA* at this time, one cannot say whether or not several of them may have sent envoys to China requesting a princess for their own princely candidate for the throne. (See also n.25 below.) Finally, the

Secondly, Princess Chin-ch'eng - who was sent off to Tibet from Shih-p'ing [c] on March 5, 710,[15] and arrived in Rasa later in the year[16] - was, according to traditional Tibetan sources, betrothed to a prince named 'Jaṅ tsha Lha dbon. The same sources claim that this prince died before she reached Tibet, and so instead she had to marry his father, an old

---

idea that this Turkic consort in Tibet was a daughter of the Eastern Türk qaghan Qutlug Iltäris (G.Uray, The Annals of the 'A-ža Principality, in L.Ligeti, ed., *Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Memorial Symposium*, Budapest 1978 [541-578], 522 and note) is due to Pelliot's mistranslation of a passage in the *Hsin T'ang shu* (see *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, Paris 1961, 98-99). He translates *chiu yü t'ung p'ing, chi jih chiu cheng ju ch'u, pu yü chiao i* [cc] (*HTS* 216 a:6082-6083) as "nous avons voilà longtemps conclu une union matrimoniale avec lui; mais du jour où nous serons avec vous oncle, neveu comme précédemment, nous n'aurons plus de relations avec lui." However, the word *p'ing* [dd], as he himself notes in a footnote, has other meanings, and "On peut comprendre ensuite: 'nous avons échangé des visites' (通聘)". In fact, *p'ing* does not mean 'to marry' at all, but (in addition to the primary meanings 'to inquire, to summon, to seek', etc.) 'to betroth with a dowry, to give a dowry, to engage'. (See T.Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten*, 13 Vols., Tokyo 1955-1968, no.29079, where however the Japanese definitions and explanations of the Chinese are incorrect under this meaning.) Finally, the context hardly allows such an interpretation. The passage should be translated as "we have long ago exchanged visits with him, but on the very day we are uncle and nephew as we were, we will not have any relations with him." The Tibetan *gatun* was without any doubt a Western Turkic princess. On Tibetan relations with the Western Turks (and the lack of them with the Eastern Turks) see G.Uray, The Old Tibetan Sources of the History of Central Asia up to 751 A.D.: A Survey, in J.Harmatta, ed., *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, Budapest 1979 (275-304), 281; and C.I.Beckwith, The Tibetan Empire in the West, in Michael Aris, et.al., ed., *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, Warminster 1980, 30-38.

15 The summary in G.Uray, The Annals of the *'Aža* Principality, 568-569, states that "on the *kuei-wei* day (March 6) he returned to the capital, and supposedly it was this or the following day that the princess set off as well". This follows the interpretation also of Demiéville in *Le concile de Lhasa*, 1 n.2. However, this chronology may be given more precisely. On March 2, according to all sources (*CTS* 7:149; *HTS* 4:112; *TFYK* 979:3v [o]) the imperial party "went to Shih-p'ing [c] *hsien* [u] to send off the princess". (*TCTC* 209:6639 says under this date that "His Highness personally escorted the princess to (*chih* [ee]) Shih-p'ing", but it is not clear here, as elsewhere, if the party actually arrived there the same day.) On March 4, "a tent-hall was erected", for the reception of the Tibetan envoys, the feast, the melodramatic leave-taking speeches, poetry recitals, etc., for the princess (*TFYK* 979:3v [o]). On March 5, the emperor decreed an amnesty for the counties of Hsien-yang [ff] and Shih-p'ing, and changed the latter county's name to Chin-ch'eng [b]. "He then proceeded to a villa north of Ma-wei [gg] belonging to Wang Kuang-fu [hh], the magistrate (*ling* [ii]) of Ch'ang-an" (*CTS* 7:149). On March 6, he *arrived* back in Ch'ang-an. (*CTS* 7:149; *HTS* 4:112; *TCTC* 209:6639). In short, it is clear the ceremonies began on March 4, and on March 5, after hearing the proclamations in her honour, the princess left for Tibet and the Chinese ruler left to go elsewhere.

16 She arrived in late summer or early fall, 710 (*OTA*, Dog year 710/711).

man - namely, Mes Ag tshoms.[17] Now since the latter was in fact only five or six years old at that time, this story also is somehow an error. We next hear of the princess in the third decade of the century. In 723, she sent a secret message to Candrāpīḍa, king of Kashmir, asking if he could give her asylum.[18] Her reasons are unknown; perhaps - as the Tibetan historians assert - she was unhappy with her "aged" spouse. Certainly she must have had little influence on Sino-Tibetan relations, which were fairly hostile during her lifetime. A few years later, she spoke to the *btsanpo* on behalf of the Khotanese refugee monks who had come to the borders at Tshal-byi, asking for asylum. The monks were admitted, and under the princess' patronage seven *vihāras* (*gtsug-lag khaṅ*) were built for them. The princess also invited or patronized monks and scholars from other Tarim Basin countries, from Gilgit, from China, and from areas further west suffering from Islamic persecution, including Ṭukhāristān. Unfortunately, a few years after this promising beginning for Buddhism in Tibet, a plague struck. The foreign monks were blamed - no doubt justly - for having brought the plague with them, and were expelled shortly after the death of both the princess[19] and the *btsanpo sras Lhas bon*[20] or "Lhas bon the emperor, the son". (With regard to the foreign monks, one could argue that the real reason they caused such an

---

[17] *MD* Ja 71v° (36b), *Sba* 2 (spelled Ljaṅ tsha Lha dbon). His mother is said in both texts to be named Khri btsun, who was buried in the winter of the Bird year 745/746. Another possibility thus presents itself: when Lha died before Chin-ch'eng kung-chu[jj] arrived, she was married eventually to a son of Mes Ag tshoms, named 'Jaṅ tsha Lha dbon. The chronology however makes this extremely unlikely. Petech (*op.cit.*258) has stated that the Chinese princess was born "a quanto pare nel 689", and was fifteen years older than the young Mes Ag tshoms. His source for this surprising statement is H.Satō, *Kodai Chibetto shi kenkyū*, 2 Vols., Kyōto 1958-1959, I:392-417. A search of these pages did not yield this information, but on pages 478-479 Satō does indeed claim, on the basis of the *Blue Annals*, that the princess was 51 *sui*[a] (i.e.52 years old) when she died. There is in fact no reliable source which gives the age of the princess at her death - the *Blue Annals* is hardly reliable with respect to imperial Tibetan history, and the Chinese records are silent on the subject. Since the princess' father Shou-li[s] died in 741, and was then 70 years old, she could have been born that early, but I think it somewhat doubtful. Shou-li is supposed to have been a gay blade who fathered over sixty children. His son Ch'eng-hung[kk] was enthroned as emperor in Ch'ang-an by the Tibetans in 763. (See *CTS* 86:2833-2834; *HTS* 81:3591-3592.)

[18] See É.Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, St.Petersbourg 1903, repr. Taipei 1969, 205-206.

[19] This episode is known from the *ex eventu* prophecies in Tibetan and Chinese found in Tun-huang but also preserved in the Tanjur. (For a bibliography on these, see Uray, *Old Tibetan Sources*, 288-289.) See Peking Tanjur, Gtam-yig, Ṅe 439v°, 433r° - 446v° (repr. Vol.129, 298a, 299e-300e). Cf. n.28.

[20] *OTA*, Hare year 739 (*sras* Lhas bon); Snake year 741 (*btsanpo sras* Lhas bon and *btsanmo* Khoṅ-co [Kung-chu[jj]] b u r i e d t o g e t h e r). Unlike Rgyal gtsug ru, Lhas bon's birth date is not mentioned in the *Old Tibetan Annals*.

uproar in Tibet may have been their political support for Mes Ag tshoms, the ruler who supported them. After all, in China and Central Asia at least, this had been standard practice for centuries. Certainly the Japanese emperors, who adopted Buddhism at about the same time as the Tibetans - and in much the same way - were not slow to see the usefulness of having a hierarchical state religion on their side.[21] Typologically, one is immediately reminded also of their European contemporaries, the Carolingian Franks, and their very similar policies.)

Thirdly, the Tibetan histories go to great lenghts to prove that Khri sroṅ lde brtsan was indeed the legitimate successor to the throne. According to the *Sba bźed*, he was born in a Hare year and Chin-ch'eng died in a Hare year according to the *Old Tibetan Annals*, thus supposedly making it possible that he was indeed the son of the Chinese princess.[22] According to the *Mkhaspa'i dgāston* and other traditional histories, when he was yet an infant he was stolen from his true mother, Princess Chin-ch'eng, by Princess Snanam, who claimed he was her own son. This caused the Chinese princess much grief until finally, at the feast celebrating the child's beginning to walk, the young prince denounced Princess Snanam and ran to his rightful mother, Princess Chin-ch'eng.[23] It is known now that this account is defective because, according to the *Old Tibetan Annals*, the Chinese princess had died in 739/740, three years before Khri sroṅ lde brtsan was born, and furthermore the princess accused in the story actually was his mother, although in fact she died in childbirth or immediately afterwards in 742/743.[24] However, the question raised by the traditional sources is clearly one of his legitimacy. Was Khri sroṅ lde brtsan really suspected of being illegitimate?

> Since it is apparent that all of the above accounts are inextricably bound up with the problem of legitimacy, a hypothesis - I repeat, a hypothesis, one of several possible hypotheses - may therefore be proposed. The *btsanpo* Lha succeeded Khri 'dus sroṅ, and reigned for one year before being deposed. If the so-called "older brother" was -

[21] See the masterful study of M.W.de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan: Sutras and Ceremonies in Use in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A.D. and Their History in Later Times*, 2 Vols., Leiden 1935, and see further below.

[22] He was born in 742/743, according to the *OTA*, Horse year 742/743; *DTT* 26.

[23] *MD*, Ja 7v° (36b), 8v° (36d). *Sba* 3-4. The dates are ignored; see *MD*, Ja 8r° - 8v° (36c-d).

[24] Her name was Snanam zā maṅmorje bźi steṅ (*DTT*, 82); her death is recorded in the sentence following that on the birth of "*btsanpo* Sroṅ lde brtsan", in the *OTA*, Horse year 742/743.

as seems irrefutable - the legitimate, expected successor of Khri 'dus sroṅ, then Rgyal gtsug ru was not equally as legitimate, and that is why the name recorded for him at his birth, and until 712, was not at all like the imperial reign name he then received. This same Lha must have been the same as Lha dbon, the crown prince promised to Chin-ch'eng before she came to Tibet.[25] One may suppose that he was thirteen years of age in 704,[26] but in any event he was at least older than Rgyal gtsug ru. And as Chin-ch'eng died and was buried together with the *btsanpo sras* Lhas bon, one is forced to ask if she had ever been married to Mes Ag tshoms at all. Assuming that she was in fact married to Lhas bon, alias Lha dbon or Lha (Bal pho), instead of, or in addition to,[27] Mes Ag tshoms, then the whole puzzling story might make sense.

To begin with, it is difficult to imagine that Lha or Lha Bal pho, Lha dbon, and Lhas bon were different personnages, especially since they were all crown princes, and all are known primarily in connection with the Chinese princess. They were undoubtedly one and the same man.[28] Why then had he not been assassinated when he was dethroned in 705? All other known Tibetan coups were accompanied by the death of the deposed ruler. Why was his successor, who did not bear a typical crown prince's name, not renamed in the sources as an emperor to be? The logical answer is that Lha was in fact the legitimate ruler and was deposed by a woman, Khri ma lod, who then ruled the country herself. Rgyal gtsug ru, alias Khri lde gtsug rtsan, alias Mes Ag tshoms, was therefore a child usurper whose supporters did not yet dare to liquidate the legitimate emperor, Lha. In 705 Lha was dethroned, but not killed; he went into forced retirement, exactly like his Chinese contemporaries, Chung tsung[d] and Jui tsung.[e] (These two were deposed in turn when Empress Wu Tse-t'ien[f] was taking power; they were kept around for the sake of legitimacy, even when she changed the dynastic name, ascended the throne, and ruled China in her own name.) Until Khri ma lod died, then, a new emperor was not placed on the Tibetan throne.[29] In 719 the only *btsanpo* in Tibet was the *btsanpo*

---

[25] The forms of the names Lha dbon and Lhas bon deserve comment. Considering the relationship of grandmother to grandson which seems to have figured so prominently in court politics at this time, and included both Mes Ag tshoms and the *btsanpo gcen Lha* (Balpho), it would appear to be most probable that the original of the two names was *Lha sbon, i.e. "Lha the grandson".

[26] See the discussion in R.A.Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, Stanford 1972, 99-100.

[27] There is little or no Old Tibetan evidence for the existence of polyandry in Tibet, but see Stein, *op.cit.*, 96-102.

[28] According to Petech (and the *T'ung tien* may support him; see n.7) they were different persons, and have been confused in the Tibetan sources. (See Petech, *op.cit.*, 258.)

[29] Although Rgyal gtsug ru is sometimes called *btsanpo* in the *Annals*, this is of course an anachronism introduced by the later redactors of the work. He is often referred to together with Khri ma lod as simply *phyi sbon*, "the grandmother and the grandson". From 700 until 712, the year of her death, Khri ma lod is actually given the same attention normally given to a ruling emperor, her residence being carefully recorded every year, usually twice a year. Cf. n.9 on her regency according to the *T'ung tien*.

> *gcen* Lha and it was to him that the Chinese princess was married. In 712, the faction supporting Rgyal gtsug ru enthroned him early, at the age of eight, and Khri ma lod died - probably not accidentally. The new ruler may perhaps have shared the princess with Lha dbon but this is unlikely. When she and Lhas bon died in 739, she may very well have left a son behind. Obviously, if Lha dbon were the most legitimate successor of Khri 'dus sroṅ, then his son by the Buddhist princess Chin-ch'eng would have been in turn the most legitimate successor to the throne. This may have caused the traditional Buddhist historians to strengthen the legitimacy of Khri sroṅ lde brtsan, the great champion of their religion, by claiming that he was not the son of Princess Snanam, but of the Chinese princess. Actually, he was not completely legitimate no matter how one looks at it. If he were really the son of Lhas bon and Chin-ch'eng, he would not have been the son of the current long-time ruler of Tibet, Mes Ag tshoms, and he would also have been half Chinese.[30] If on the other hand he were the son of Mes Ag tshoms, then he would have been the son of an arguably illegitimate ruler. But he was nevertheless apparently installed as crown prince, and there the matter rested until 755.

In that year, there was a revolt against the ruling family, directed seemingly against Khri sroṅ lde brtsan's succession to the throne. Now, the old ministers Laṅ myes zigs and 'Bal ldoṅ tsab[31] were certainly loyal to someone - was it perhaps to the scion of a legitimist dynastic line? We do not know, and may never know, since right here there is a long

[30] There is no doubt of the actual fact of Rgyal gtsug ru's royal blood (and little doubt over Khri sroṅ lde brtsan's, since the discovery of the *Old Tibetan Annals*, much rewritten official version though it may be). However, the *Annals* (Dragon year 704/705) records his birth in Khobraṅ tsal, whereas *MD*, Ja 70v° (35d) says he was born in Ldan-dkar. It is possible, if an Old Tibetan genealogical list is correct, that the emperor Khri maṅ slon maṅ rtsan was the son of the Chinese princess Wen-ch'eng[11] (see *DTT* 82). If so, the enigmatic passage in the beginning of the *Annals*, which says she consorted with Khri sroṅ brtsan for three years before he died, is correct, since it is accepted that Guṅ sroṅ guṅ brtsan ruled only five years, dying at eighteen. In fact, he was probably the ruler in name only, but it is in any case clear that the princess was obtained from China for the s o n of Sroṅ brtsan sgam po, not for the great ruler himself, who only took her to wife, according to the well-known Tibetan custom, after the death of his son. Thus it is possible that being the son of a foreign consort was not at all a barrier to the succession, as has generally been thought. Thus 'Jaṅ tsha lha bon, supposedly the son of Mes Ag tshoms' Nan-chao consort (although this is improbable, as seen above) and the *btsanpo* Lha (Balpho) - perhaps the son of the Turkic consort, the *qatun* - would apparently not have been considered illegitimate crown princes because of (possible) foreign blood.

[31] Bal skyes bzaṅ ldoṅ tsab is known already from the *OTA*, Snake year 729/730, and Laṅ myes zigs from the *OTA* [version] *II*, the Dog year 746/747. It is extremely curious that in the case of the second personage the former version should lack this information. *OTA*: "Two [officials] , the great minister ['Bro] Cuṅ bzaṅ and the minister ['Bal] skyes bzaṅ ldoṅ tsab, convoked the winter assembly at Byar-liṅs tsal [in] Skyi, and made a levy of the *'brog-sog* of the Four Horns." In the following year, it states only: " ... *'brog-sog gcodpa'i riṅ-lugs sosor bkye.*" *OTA II*: Three [officials],

break in the *Old Tibetan Annals*, our primary source for verification of early Tibetan history. Moreover, it is clear that the conflict between the often fragmentary information in the Old Tibetan sources and the often internally contradictory information in the Classical Tibetan histories is probably due at some point to the deliberate rewriting of history. The above hypothesis must therefore remain a hypothesis for the present.

The preceding discussion omits, for lack of space, the exceedingly important and acutely relevant data available from comparative study of the Tibetan empire's contemporary neighbours, which I have touched on elsewhere. But it is necessary to stress here that legitimacy was an overriding concern among all of Tibet's neighbouring empires in the middle-to-late eighth century, notably the Arabs, the Uighur Turks, and the Chinese, among others. Furthermore, the early medieval use of a hierarchical religious apparatus in the support of legitimacy claims is well known -

---

the great minister(s ?) Cuṅ bzan, 'Bal ldoṅ tsab, and Laṅ myes zigs, convoked the assembly at Bya-rliṅ tsal [in] Skyi, and made a levy of the Four Horns *'brog-sog.*" In the following year, " ... the [great] minister[s] [Cuṅ] bzaṅ and 'Bal ldoṅ tsab, the minister Maṅporje, and the *źaṅ* 'Briṅ rtsan, and others, convoked the winter assembly at Rtsegro in Dra, and concluded the *'brog-sog rtsis* ("calculation" of the *'brog-sog*; a census ?)." The meaning of *'brog-sog* is, for an Old Tibetan problem, rather hotly debated. Here it is desired first to point out one fact: the word must refer to human beings, since a *mkhos* is made of them; and since it would be very odd for the great ministers of a great empire to be performing - as one of their most important tasks, evidently - menial labor, these accounts certainly refer to administrative measures concerning the *'brog-sog*. It may also be pointed out that *gcodpa'i riṅ-lugs*, according to a very unreliable source, Das's dictionary (s.v. *gcod lugs*), means "Tantric or mystical school of Buddhism". If *'brog-sog* meant "wandering-Sog[dians]" then these notices would be referring to the wandering Inner Asian Buddhist monks - of whom many were no doubt Tantric Buddhists - who were expelled (*sosor bkye*: "sent away singly/separately/individually" ?) at some unknown date after the death of Princess Chin-ch'eng and Btsaṅpo sras Lhas bon. (On *riṅ-lugs bkye* cf. Petech, 276.) To return to Laṅ and 'Bal, it is remarkable that the notices concerning the *'brog-sog* in which the ministers involved are named all include 'Bal ldoṅ tsab, and the one pre-755 notice preserved which mentions Laṅ myes zigs is also concerned with the *'brog-sog*. One then calls to mind the later seditious activities of the expelled monks in Gandhāra, according to the story (see n.18). One may recall also the famous rebellion that began in 755 in T'ang China, led by An Lu-shan[mm], son of a Sogdian and a Turkess; the 'Abbāsid revolt of 747, which began in the Arab Central Asian provincial capital of Marw (Merv), the western terminus and great *entrepôt* of the Sogdian trade routes with the east; the 742 rebellion of the Uighurs, Qarluqs, and Basmil which overthrew the "Second" Türk empire and established the Uighur Turk empire in Mongolia, where the Sogdians played a crucial cultural and economic, if not also political, role; and even the 751 *coup d'état* in the Frankish realm (where the Jews wielded the respective internationalistic cultural and economic influence); among others. This is a very striking convergence of historical development, the forces behind which have not yet been investigated. (See however my early article on this subject in *CAJ* 21, 1977, 89-104.) Was there perhaps more to the "revolt of 755" in Tibet than appears from the scanty sources?

as a historical construct - in the case of the early Carolingians Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious. (It is clear also that religious identity was at least equally important in the same states, for reasons not yet known.) In that light, therefore, whether or not the above hypothesis is correct, there can be little doubt about Khri sroṅ lde brtsan's need for legitimizing forces, and one can then easily see why it was of paramount importance to the beleaguered young ruler that state Buddhism, with all of its strong rulership symbolism, be promptly and firmly established.[32] Moreover, the Tibetan ruler had a proven model already at hand, one that he simply had to copy in order to see excellent results. That model came from China, the country which supplied him with his Buddhist teachers and materials. In the central T'ang period Amoghavajra, a famous Central Asian monk of the Tantric school of Buddhism, was the *kuo shih* [g], or "National Preceptor", the archchaplain of China.[33] Under his direction a wonderful temple, the *Pao-mo hu-kuo chin-ko-ssû*,[h] or "the Temple of the Golden Pavilion which protects against Māra and defends the nation", was built on Wu-t'ai Shan [i] [34] in 766.[35] Amoghavajra also

---

[32] The practical usefulness of the monks themselves - who still had to perform military service - becomes clearer when one considers their personal loyalty to the emperor himself. See G.Uray, Notes on a Tibetan Military Document from Tun-huang. *AOH 12* (1961) 223-230. It is obvious from this document that the monks must have performed military service precisely in order to support the personal power of the ruler. Here the religious activities - in precisely parallel manner - of the rulers of the states discussed in the preceding note, should also be pointed out. The 'Abbāsids under al-Manṣūr, who had such a flimsy claim to legitimacy, went to great lengths to demonstrate their legitimacy, including supporting the Mu'tazilites and founding, in 762, a magnificent capital city, the City of Peace (at Baghdad), which had obvious kosmokrator symbolism. (See "The Plan of the City of Peace", to appear in *Acta Orientalia Acad. Scient. Hungaricae* 1983.) The Uighurs, the upstart non-royal line of Turkic rulers in Mongolia, were "converted" to Manicheism in 762 by the Sogdians, and subsequently built a great capital city, Ordubalïq, which had probable cosmological significance. (See *ibid.*, n.80.) Finally, the role of the Christian Church in the Carolingian world is well enough known. (See for example W.Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship*, London 1969, and H.Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, Oxford 1957, 12 ff.) In addition to these, one must take note of the famous and striking example of the Khazars, who adopted Judaism as their state religion in the mid-eighth century. See D.M.Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, and Peter B.Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 2 Vols., Budapest 1980.

[33] His biography in the Chinese Tripitaka has been translated and annotated by Chou Yi-liang, in: Tantrism in China, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8, 1944-1945 (241-332), 284-307.

[34] E.O.Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, New York 1955, 252. Reischauer notes that the character *mo* [nn] is perhaps a mistake (no edition of Ennin's work is available to me at the time of writing) and ought to be something else, so that the whole phrase would be "protect the nation and defend the land" or the like. As it stands, however, the character is a standard transcription of Sanskrit Māra, and the name appears to make good sense without any change.

[35] Nien Ch'ang, *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* (Taishō 2036: 477-735) 600b.

made a new translation of the *Jen-wang hu-kuo ching* [j], the *Sūtra of the Bodhisattva King who Defends the Nation*, by order of the Emperor Tai-tsung [k], who personally composed a preface to the new translation.[36] This sūtra was used in a public cult specifically intended to bring the magical powers of the supernatural to help defend the empire.[37] Among other marvels, the ceremony is credited with bringing about the death of the rebel P'u-ku Huai-en [l] and the dispersal of the allied Tibetan and Uighur armies threatening the Chinese capital.[38]

Now, Wu-t'ai Shan was known to the Tibetans, and according to traditional accounts Sba Saṅ śi, a Buddhist adherent of Khri sroṅ lde brtsan, went to China late in the reign of Mes Ag tshoms and visited the mountains, sacred to Mañjuśrī, before returning to Tibet.[39] There were certainly many other Tibetan visitors, probably including Saṅ śi, who himself went to China again[40] in the reign of Khri sroṅ lde brtsan. It is no accident, then, that one of the immediate predecessors of Samye, the Naṅ Lhakhaṅ built at Brag-dmar by Sba Saṅ śi, was modeled upon "Wu-t'ai Shan"[41] - perhaps meaning the famous Temple of the Golden Pavilion there. When Samye was built, it was modeled on the plan of the *vihāra* of Odantapuri,[42] just as the Golden Pavilion was apparently modeled on the plan of the temple of Nālandā.[43] Samye, with its strong kosmokrator symbolism, was a most sophisticated tool for affirming the emperor's legitimacy. The main temple in the centre was a symbolic world mountain, flanked by the temples of the sun and moon, and all was surrounded by the famous circular wall representing the Iron Mountains bounding the universe.[44]

[36] Visser, *op.cit.*, Vol.1, 121-122.

[37] *Ibid.* 122 ff.

[38] *TCTC* 224:7196. However, the story may be invented along the lines of a traditional Buddhist tale, perhaps connected with the *Jen-wang ching.* [oo] See Chou, *op.cit.* 305-306. There is a Tibetan version, too, see *MD*, Ja 70r [o] (35c).

[39] *Sba* 7.

[40] Saṅ śi went to China at least once more, in the reign of Khri sroṅ lde btsan, before the construction of the Naṅ Lhakhaṅ. (See *ibid.* 19-20.) He may actually have been a Buddhist monk. See Demiéville 10, note. A Tibetan embassy to China in 824 requested a map of Wu-t'ai Shan [i] (*Demiéville* 188, n.1).

[41] *Ibid.* 22; *MD* Ja 85v [o].

[42] *Ibid.* 33 ff. Stein (*op.cit.* 66) notes that it might have been modeled on Nālandā.

[43] Reischauer, *op.cit.* 253.

[44] *Sba* 34 ff.; G.Tucci, The Simbolism [*sic*] of the temples of bSam-yas, *East & West* 6, 1956, 279-381.

In conclusion, it would appear that the establishment of Buddhism as the official religion, the building of Samye, and other actions of the son of Mes Ag tshoms, were motivated at least in part by the necessity of proving that he, Khri sroṅ lde brtsan, was indeed the legitimate emperor of Tibet. The revolt of 755 was but the first stage on the new ruler's path to consolidation of power.[45]

[45] One further conclusion that might be drawn relates to the exact form or forms of Chinese Buddhism actually prevalent in Tibet b e f o r e the controversies of the late eighth century. Since there is little concrete evidence for the spread of Ch'an-type teachings prior to Ho-shang Mahāyāna (see *Demiéville* 13, n.1 ff.) one is forced to reconsider the current assumption that the Chinese Buddhism then prevailing in Tibet was Ch'an Buddhism, and that the Rdzogs-chen, or "Great Perfection" school of Tibetan Buddhism, owes its special features to Ch'an. Note that in 781, "Tibet sent an envoy to beg the [T'ang] court to bestow a *śramana* who could excellently expound Buddhist principles (*fo-li* [pp].). The emperor ordered Liang-hsiu [qq] (and) Wen-su [rr] to go to preach the dharma and influence by teaching. (They) alternated, one per year." See Chih-p'an, *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* (Taishō 2035: 129-475) 379a. See *Demiéville* 184 n.2 for further references.

ABBREVIATIONS

CDT	Ariane Spanien & Yoshiro Imaeda, *Choix de documents tibétains*, Vol.2, Paris 1979
CTS	Liu Hsün, et al., *Chiu T'ang shu*, 16 Vols., Peking 1975.
DTT	J.Bacot, F.W.Thomas, C.Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris 1940
HTS	Sung Ch'i, Ou-yang Hsiu, et al., *Hsin T'ang shu*, 20 Vols., Peking 1975
MD	Dpãbo Gtsug-lag 'phreṅba, *Mkhaspa'i dgãston*, 17 Vols., Lhobrag, n.d. (repr. in 4 vols., New Delhi 1959-1962)
OTA	*Old Tibetan Annals*, reproduced in *CDT*
OTC	*Old Tibetan Chronicle*, reproduced in *CDT*
Sba	Sba Gsal-snaṅ, attrib.; R.A.Stein, ed., *Sba bźed (=Une chronique ancienne ...)*, Paris 1961
Taishō	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, 85 Vols., Tokyo 1924-1932 (repr. 1960-1978)
TCTC	Ssu-ma Kuang, *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*, 10 Vols., Peking 1956
TFYK	Wang Ch'in-jo, et al., *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei*, 20 Vols., Taipei 1972
TT	Tu Yu, *T'ung tien*, Shanghai 1935

THE ORIGIN OF THE TIBETAN SCRIPT

by

NGAWANGTHONDUP NARKYID (Cleveland)

In this paper I am going to try to elaborate upon and prove the theory of Amdo Gendun Chomphel[1] on the origin of the Tibetan script, with my own research in the same field.

There are three theories on the origin of the Tibetan script. The first theory is that the N ā g a r ī[2] script is the origin of the Tibetan script. This is stated in the Tibetan grammar book *The Beautiful Pearl Rosary, the Necklace of Wisemen (mKhas pa'i mgul rgyan mu tig 'phreng mdzes)*, commonly known as *Situe Sumtag (si tu'i sum rtags)*[3] as follows:

> "Thon mi Sambhoṭa pioneered the Tibetan script modelled from the Nāgarī script at the castle of Maru (in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet) after he came back from India."
> *(thon mi sambhoṭa ... rgya gar nas ... slar ldog pa'i tse, sku mkhar ma rur nāgara'i yi ger dpe byas te bod yig gi gzugs brtzams. ...)*

The second theory is that the L a n t s a[4] script is the origin of the

* Editors' note: This paper was already published - without the author's permission - in *Tibet Journal 7:3*, under the title: In Defence of Amdo Gedun Chomphel's Theory of the Origin of the Tibetan Script. - Appreciation of the author's presence at the conference justifies this new print.

1 Amdo Gendun Chomphel (1905-1951) is a philosopher, historian, poet and artist. For details about him, see H.Karmay, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel, the Artist. *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson, Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies*. Oxford 1979, 145-149.

2 The Nāgarī script (*nāgara'i yi ge*) in this case was one of the Devanāgarī writings used by Kashmirians. For more information, see n.14.

3 The author of this grammar book is Dumbuwa Chokyi Jungney (or Situ Chokyi Jungney), 17th century.

4 A script in use among Nepalese Buddhists and a kind of ornamental writing used by Nepalese and Tibetan calligraphers for inscriptions. See figure 1.

Tibetan U-chen (*dbu can*)[5] script and that the Vartu[6] is the origin of the Tibetan U-mey (*dbu med*).[7] This theory started in the 17th century and most Tibetans have accepted it. It is stated in such Tibetan grammar books as *The Origin and Explanation of the Rules of Tibetan Grammar and Morpho-phonology* (*bod kyi brda sprod pa'i bstan bcos sum cu pa dang rtags kyi 'jug pa gnyis kyi rtza 'grel legs par bshad pa tsig nyung don bzang utpala yi rna rgyan*).[8] In this book, it is written as follows:

> "The manifestation of Mañjuśrī, the great,
> renowned Dharma minister Thonmi Sambhoṭa,
> took the Lantsa script as the model for
> the U-chen script and the Vartu script
> as the model for the U-mey script."
>
> (*'jam dbyangs mi'i srid pa bzung ba chos blon chen po thu mi sambhoṭa zhes mtshan snyan yongs su grags pa'i bka' drin can des lantsa la dpe mdzad nas dbu can dang, wartu la dpe blangs te 'bru ma*[9] *mdzad.*)

The third theory is that the Gupta[10] script is the origin of the Tibetan U-chen script and the U-mey is the natural outcome of writing U-chen quickly. This is the theory of Amdo Gendun Chomphel. He wrote two excellent articles, primarily to correct the misunderstandings of recent Tibetan grammarians on the origin of the Tibetan script, which were published in 1936 and 1938 in the Tibetan newspaper *Yulchog Sosoe Sangyur Melong* (The Mirror of the News of Every Country). A copy of a page of this newspaper is given in figure 2. In the latter article he criticized the theory that the Lantsa and Vartu scripts were the origin of the Tibetan U-chen and U-mey scripts respectively. He pointed out very clearly as follows:

[5] I.e. "the letter having a headline". It is mainly used for printing scriptures. It may be called "capital" letter as in Roman scripts. See figure 1.

[7] I.e. "the letter without a headline". It is a name for various Tibetan handwriting forms and is mainly used for government documents and social correspondence. See figure 1.

[6] See figure 3, column XII.

[8] Written by Nyangtoe Gashiwa Sonam Paljor Tsering in 1810.

[9] A kind of U-mey style, also called Drutsa (*'bru tsa*).

[10] See figures 6 (B) and 7.

"It has been said that when Minister Thonmi invented the Tibetan letters, he made U-chen based on Lantsa and U-mey based on Vartu. This was just fabricated later by some glib people out of their own mind. This is proved by the fact that earlier historians like the Great Gölo[11] etc. mentioned nothing about it. ... In general, this claim that (the Tibetan) letters were made using the Lantsa as a model is completely untrue, because the Lantsa script appeared only recently."

(*blon po thon mis bod yig gsar bzo mdzad pa'i tse, lantsa la bstun nas dbu can dang, wartu la bstun te dbu med bzos so bya ba 'di, phyis kyi kha bde 'ga' zhig gis rang dgar blo bzo byas pa tzam yin gyi. 'gos lo chen po sogs sngon gyi lo rgyus smra ba dag gis zur tzam yang ma gsungs. ...spyir lantsa la dpe blangs zer ba ni shin tu yang mi bden pa zhig ste, lantsa ni phyis tza na gsar du byung ba'i yi ge yin pa'i phyir.*)

I quite agree with Gendun Chomphel. The first appearance of the Lan Lantsa and Vartu scripts was not before the 11th century A.D. It first appeared some four hundred years after the era of Thonmi Sambhoṭa. I am basing this statement mainly on evidence from G.Bühler's collection of Indian Paleography. Among nearly three hundred different alphabets, the only form similar to the Lantsa and Vartu scripts appeared only in the earlier 11th century. They are on Plate VI, Alphabets from Northern Manuscripts, column numbers XII and XIV (see figure 3). We can see from these examples that the Lantsa and Vartu scripts evolved from these two forms and then further developed into the present Nepali, Hindi, and other late Indian scripts, but not the Tibetan script.

Gendun Chomphel did not agree that the Tibetan U-chen and U-mey scripts were pioneered by Thonmi Sambhoṭa at one time. For this, he added three sentences to the article as follwos:

"The Omniscient[12] Buton[13] did not state either that both the U-chen and U-mey scripts were

[11] Gö Lotsawa Shonu Lodro or Yesang Tsepa (1372-1481).

[12] The word "Omniscient" in this case is just the translation of the Tibetan title *thams cad mkhyen pa*.

[13] Buton Rinchen Drub (1290-1364), the author of more than a hundred books on Buddhism, Tibetan literature, history and grammar.

pioneered simultaneously in the very beginning. He just mentioned that the Tibetan letter was made after the model of the Kashmirian[14] letter. ...The U-mey script is the natural outcome of writing U-chen quickly."

(kun mkhyen bu ston gyis kyang kha che'i yi ge la dpe blangs te bod yig bzos so bya ba tzam las, dbu can dbu med gnyis ka dang po nas bzos par ma gsungs so. ...dbu med ni dbu can mgyos su bris pa las rang bzhin gyis byung.)

Obviously, we can easily prove that the U-mey script evolved gradually from the U-chen form, as with the Roman capital letter and small letters, (for actual examples see Figure 4). I first suggested this at Lhasa, in 1951, and I submitted it to my teacher Amdo Gendun Chomphel after I learned his explanation of the evolution of the various forms of Tibetan letters and their origin. More examples are the Tibetan writing styles in the Bhutanese script and the Tun-Huang documents, in which are shown the beginning of the transition period of the U-chen script changing into the U-mey script (see figure 5).

Gendun Chomphel also proved that the origin of the Tibetan script U-chen is the Gupta autograph. He based this on historical evidence uncovered by his own research in India and stated as follows:

"There were very many different forms of the Magadha letters, one after another, during the entire time of the early period of the Aryāṇ, the era of the Buddha, and during the descent-line of the king of Maurya and Gupta. We can see the letters ourselves, directly, because the pillars and the copper plates of those kings exist even now. ...A Tibetan can read almost half of the inscriptions on those

[14] The Kashmirian script (*kha che'i yi ge*) and the Nāgarī script are the same thing. Tsepon Shakabpa quoted a speech by Geshe Khunu Tenzin Gyaltsan Rinpoche on this subject in *The Political History in Tibet* (*bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs*). Tibetan version, 31, n.27. He said: "The Kashimirian writing was named Nāgara in earlier time. ... The present Kashmirian letter called 'Urdu' came from the Arab country later." (*kha che'i yi ge la nāgara zer zhing. ... deng dusdar ba'i kha che'i yi ge urdu bya ba ni rjes su a ra bi'i yul nas dar ba zhig yin.*)

pillars and copper plates even if he/she does not know a single Indian letter.'

(sngon gyi aryāṇ rnams dang, sangs rgyas kyi dus dang, mōrya'i rgyal rgyud kyi skabs dang, gupta'i rgyal rgyud sogs kyi skabs thams cad du, magadha'i yig gzugs shin tu mi 'dra ba dag rim gyis byung ba, rgyal po so so'i rdo ring dang, zangs kyi glegs bu rnams da lta yang dngos su bltar yod pa'i phyir ro. ...de'i dus kyi rdo ring dang, zangs kyi glegs bu rgya gar gyi paṇḍita dag gis kyang klog mi nus pa dag bod pa rgya yig 'bru gcig tzam yang mi shes pa zhig gis kyang phyed tzam klog nus pa yin pa'i phyir ro.)

Gendun Chomphel compared a copper plate of the Gupta period, containing one of the Gupta scripts, with Tibetan U-chen for proving his discovery and published that in the same Tibetan newspaper. A copy of this appears in figure 6 (A).

I also did some research on the origin of the Tibetan script during the more than ten years that I was in India. I found that Gendun Chomphel's theory was one hundred percent correct. We can easily see this in figures 6 and 7. These sample alphabets were selected from the Northern and Southern Gupta alphabets which I copied from G.Bühler's collection of Indian Paleography.

I wondered why Gendun Chomphel did not mention whether or not the Nāgarī script is the origin of the Tibetan script. Later I realized that the Nāgarī writing system originated from the late Gupta script. To make sure, I checked with one of my best linguistic teachers, Prof. D.S.Dwarikesh. He is an Indian scholar with a keen intellect, at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, U.S.A. He said that the origin of the various Nāgarī writing systems were Gupta scripts. The Tibetan script might be modelled from one of the late Gupta or earlier Nāgarī scripts. Therefore it is understood that there was no need to argue for it, since we found that the Gupta script is the origin of all Tibetan writing systems, including the Zhangzhung[15] Maryig (the letter *smar yig* was used for ancient Bonpo scriptures).

[15] Zhangzhung was an ancient Tibetan kingdom in western Tibet.

I saw an old Bonpo scripture at the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. A librarian explained to me that the letters used in that scripture are in the Zhangzhung script. However, it appeared to me to be a kind of secret script known as K h a d r o D a y i g (*mkha' 'gro brda yig*) or a sign letter of the Ḍākinī; a style of an earlier Indian writing that might have been used in Tajik or Khotan in earlier times, and which could be derived from a Gupta script. Since then I have thought that the writing system of ancient Tibet (during the Bon civilization) was modelled from the earlier Gupta script, and that the writing system of the Tibetan middle ages (at the time when the Buddhist culture was brought into Tibet) is modelled from the late Gupta script. One kind of Zhangzhung script and the Tibetan U-mey script are similar. If we reconstruct these two different scripts, I believe it will finally reach one root, which is the Gupta script.

Furthermore, my Tibetan literature teacher at the Potala college (rTse rig gnas slob grva), Gegen Lodro Chosang from Mindroling monastery (one of the best Nyingma sect universities in Tibet), taught me that there is a traditional saying that present Tibetan writing is derived from the Zhangzhung Maryig and that the Zhangzhung script is derived from the T a z i g P u n g y i g (*stag gzig spuṅs yig*). If this is true, then the origin of the Tazig Pungyig might be an earlier Gupta script that was used in Tajik (ancient Persia).

To reach a final conclusion on the true origin of the Tibetan script, much more work is needed, especially using modern methodology and scientific research. Tremendous research needs to be done using the ancient history texts from the earlier Bon in Tibet and its relationship with ancient Tajik, Khotan, and Northwestern India, and from the earlier Indo-Tibetan relationship up to the middle ages. The evidence should be based on both the Zhangzhung-Tibetan histories written in their own languages and the relevant neighbouring countries' histories written in earlier Tajik, Khotanese, Nepali, Kashmirian and other Indian languages, with support from archaeological materials.

I sincerely hope that Tibetan and foreign scholars, particularly those growing up in this mid-twentieth century, will take interest in this field and will find the truth.

Now, I will conclude this paper with a Tibetan proverb in a verse as follows:

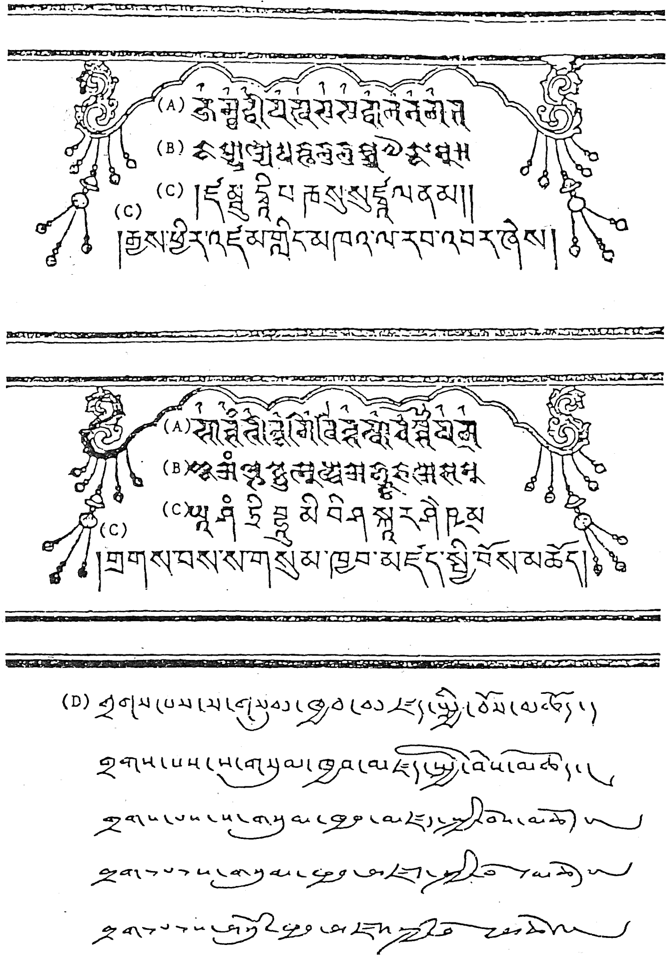
> "The view from a person whose one eye is covered,
> Is the same as a one eyed yak eating grass (seen
> only from one side).

For correcting faults and mistakes such as that
one-sidedness,
One should critically analyse with an unprejudiced mind."

(mig ya gcig bsgribs pa'i mthong tsul ni,
g.yag zhar bas spang rtzva bzas dang mtsungs.
de 'dra ba'i skyon 'khrul sel ba'i phyir,
blo gzu bor gnas pas dpyad zhib mdzod.)

Tibetan Alphabet

ཀ	ཁ	ག	ང
ka	kha	ga	nga
ཅ	ཆ	ཇ	ཉ
ca	cha	ja	nya
ཏ	ཐ	ད	ན
ta	tha	da	na
པ	ཕ	བ	མ
pa	pha	ba	ma
ཙ	ཚ	ཛ	ཝ
tza	tsa	dza	wa
ཞ	ཟ	འ	ཡ
zha	za	'a	ya
ར	ལ	ཤ	ས
ra	la	sha	sa
ཧ	ཨ	ཕ༹	བ༹
ha	a	fa	va



(A) Lantsa, (B) Vartu, (C) U-chen, (D) All five lines are U-mey scripts. The first line is called Drutsa, the second line is called Tsugthung, and last three lines are called Khyug. (There are various styles of U-mey, more examples of which will be published in my forthcoming paper, *The Development of Tibetan Scripts.*)

FIGURE 1

The Tibetan Newspaper *Yulchog Sosoe Sangyur Melong* (January 2, 1938)

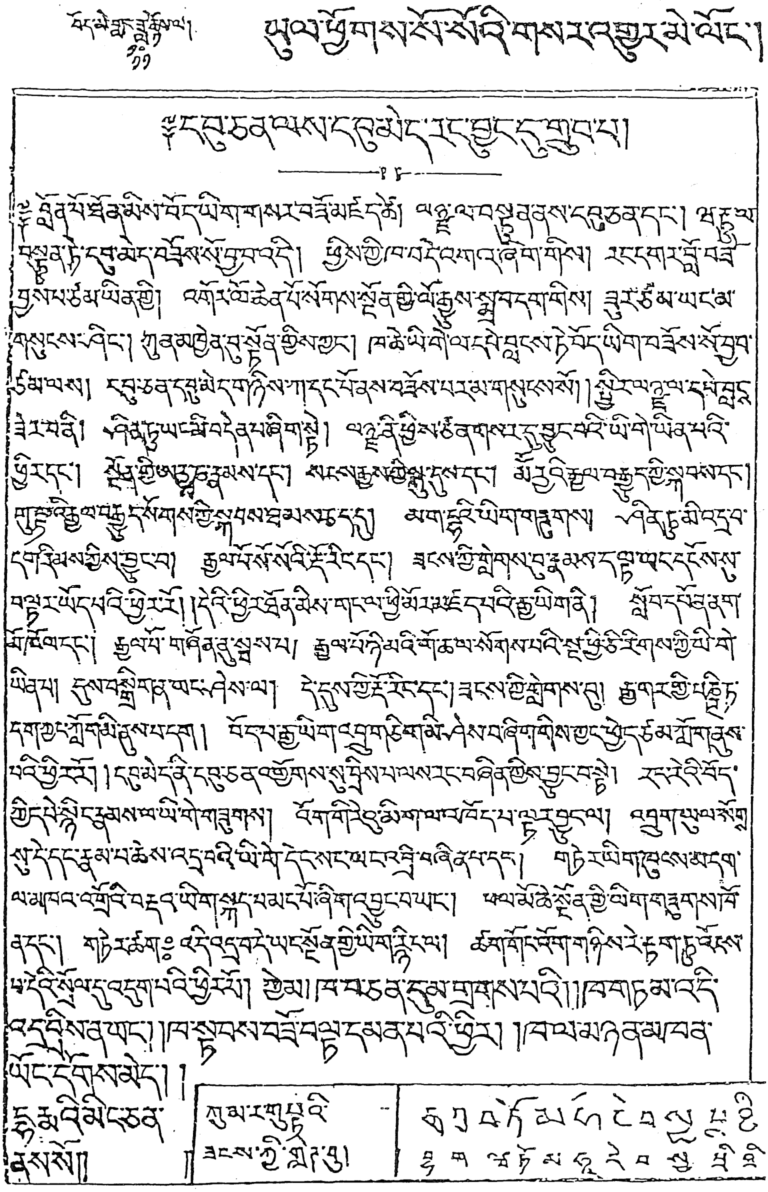


FIGURE 2

G.Bühler, *Indian Paleography*, Plate VI: Alphabets from Northern Manuscripts

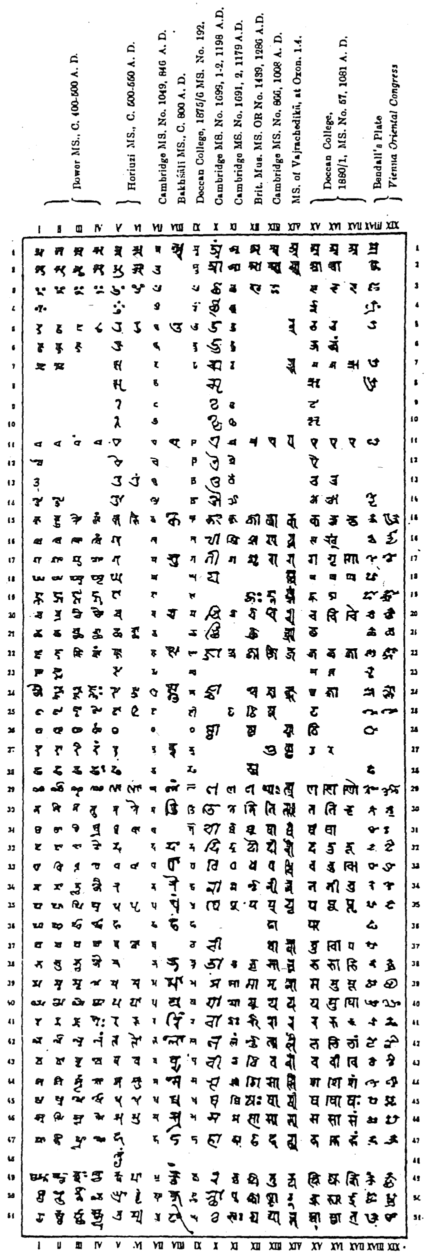


FIGURE 3

How the "U-chen" form changed into "U-mey" form

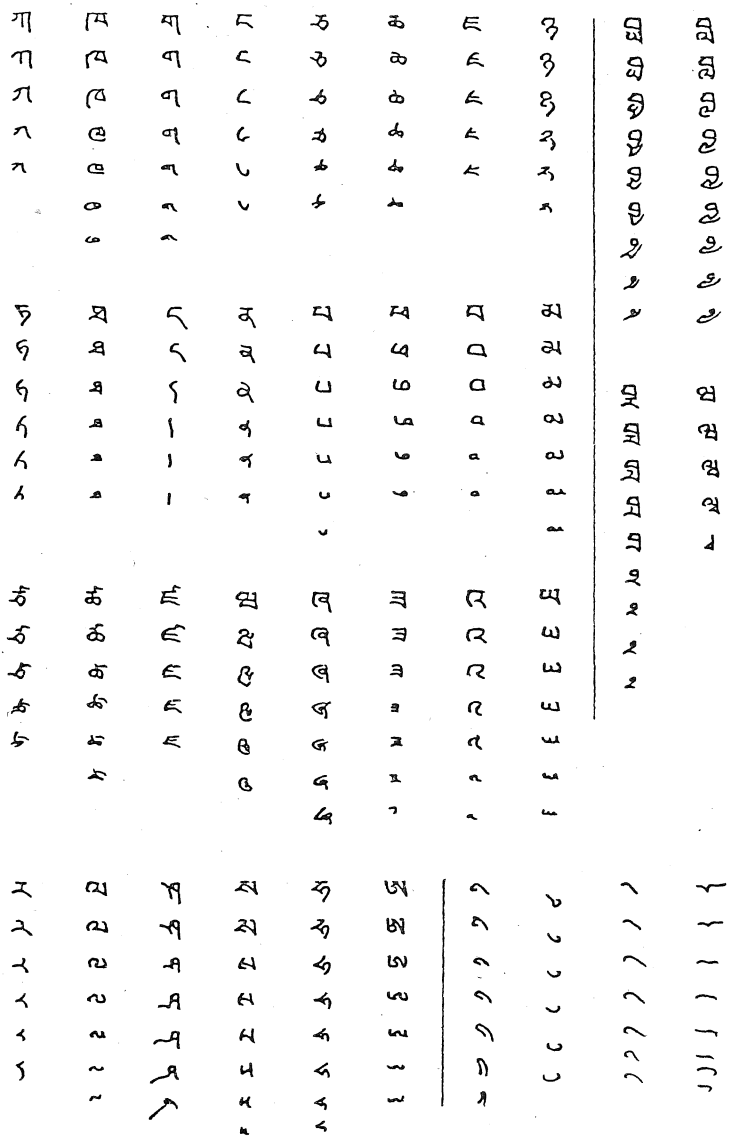
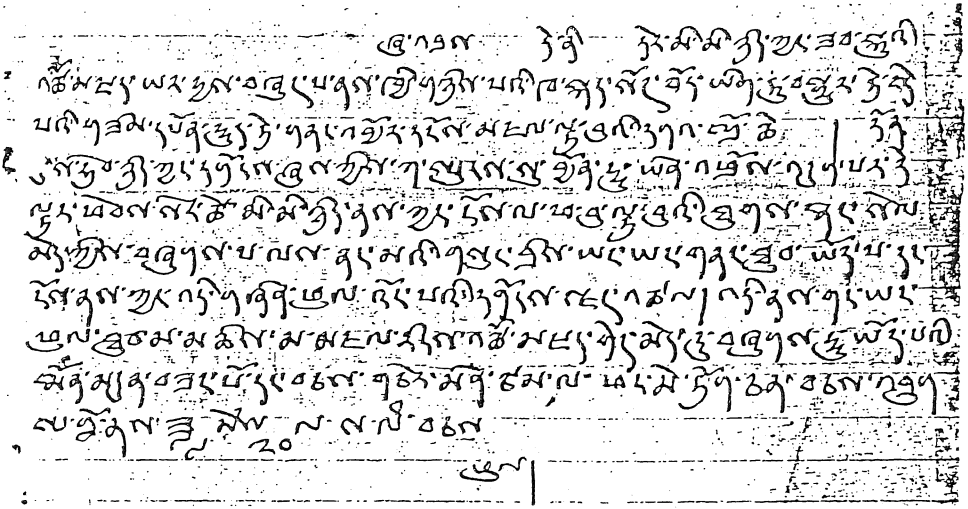


FIGURE 4

(A) A copy of a letter in present Bhutanese writing



(B) A copy of a piece from a Tun-huang Document

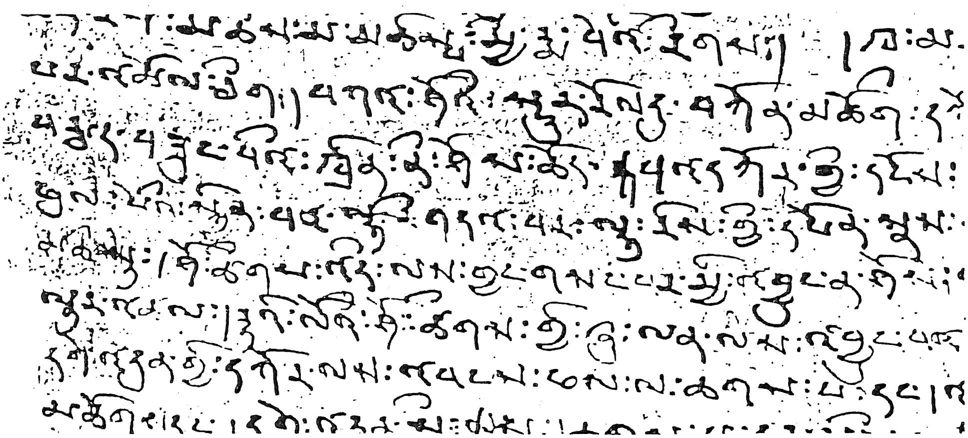
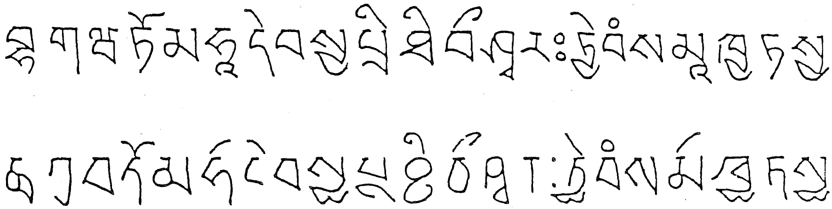


FIGURE 5

(A) A Copper Plate of Kumāra Gupta (A Copy from Gendun Chomphel's Article)

༄། །ཀུ་མ་ར་གུཔྟའི་ཟངས་ཀྱི་གླེགས་བུ།



(B) G.Bühler, *Indian Paleography*, Plate VI (Column 11):
Northern Alphabets from C.350 to 800 A.D.,
Gupta Inscriptions, Maukhari, 6th cent. A.D.

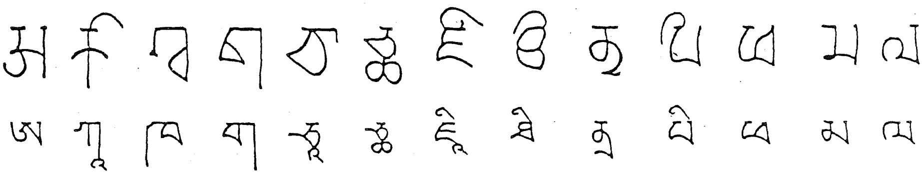
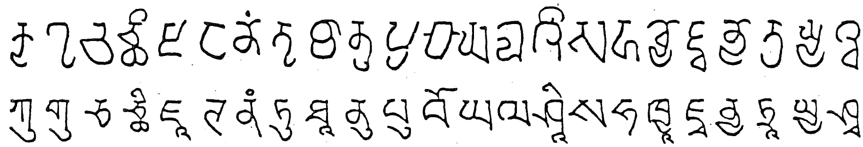


FIGURE 6.

(A) G.Bühler, *Indian Paleography*, Plate VII (Column 1):
The Southern Alphabets from C.400 to 750 A.D.,
Gupta Sāñci, 412 A.D.



(B) G.Bühler, *Indian Paleography*, Plate IV (Column 1):
Northern Alphabets from C.350 to 800 A.D.
Gupta Inscriptions, Allāhāvad-Praśasti, C.375 A.D.

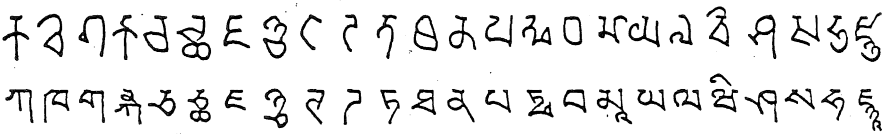


FIGURE 7.

DID THE EARLY MING EMPERORS ATTEMPT TO IMPLEMENT A "DIVIDE AND RULE" POLICY IN TIBET?

by

E.SPERLING (Bloomington)

For almost two decades now it has been generally accepted that the major aim of the early Ming court's policy towards Tibet was to prevent the emergence of a strong, unified Tibetan state, and that in pursuing that policy the first Ming emperors selectively granted titles and gifts to various Tibetan hierarchs in order to keep military and political power in Tibet fragmented.[1] This view of early Ming Tibetan policy, however, actually represents traditional concepts of China's so-called "tribute relations" with other Asian states far more than it reflects the realities of Sino-Tibetan relations in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

Many aspects of China's "tribute relations" with other nations and peoples have been undergoing re-evaluation in recent years. Traditional Chinese concepts which hold that such intercourse offered no material gains to China, a country that has always possessed all that it has ever needed within its own borders, and that it was rather a convenient device for controlling, or at least keeping content, "barbarian" neighbours, are at last receiving the scrutiny that they have long needed.[2] It may be

---

[1] This is the view expounded by Satō Hisashi in his various studies of Ming-Tibetan relations: Mindai Chibetto no hachi tai kyō-ō ni tsuite. *Tōyōshi kenkyū XXI*, 1962, 295-314; *XXII*, 1963, 203-225; *XXII*, 1964, 488-503; Mindai Chibetto no Rigompa no keitō no tsuite. *Tōyō gakuhō XLV*, 1963, 434-452; and Gen matsu Min sho no Chibetto jōsei. Tamura Jitsuzō, ed., *Mindai Man-Mō shi kenkyū*, Kyoto 1963, 485-585. It is also echoed by several other scholars. See, for example, Karmay, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, Warminster 1975, 74-75; T.V.Wylie, Lama Tribute in the Ming Dynasty. M.Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, eds., *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, Warminster 1980, 338; and Cha-ch'i Ssu-ch'in (= Sechin Jagchid), *Meng-ku yü Hsi-tsang li-shih kuan-hsi chih yen-chiu*, Taipei 1978, 388.

[2] For the traditional views, see J.K.Fairbank and Teng Ssu-yü, On the Ch'ing Tributary System. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies VI*, 1941, 139-141. For more balanced assessments see H.Serruys, *Sino-Mongol Relations During the Ming III. Trade Relations: The Horse Fairs (1400-1600). Melanges chinois et bouddhiques XVII*, 1973-1975, 14-24;

appropriate then, at this time, to venture a different interpretation of the relationship between Tibet and the early Ming, and of the Ming court's policy towards Tibet, than that which is usually advanced.

There is no question about the fact that Tibet was a politically fragmented country both before and during the period of the Ming dynasty. Nor is there any question about the fact that the first Ming emperors bestowed titles and gifts upon the hierarchs of various Tibetan sects and subsects. Both Ming t'ai-tsu* (reigned 1368-1398), the Hung-wu emperor, and Ming Ch'eng-tsu (reigned 1402-1424), the Yung-lo emperor, actively pursued such contacts with the various power centers, differing in strength, prestige, and wealth, that they had to deal with in Central Tibet. Although Tibetan sources make note of the various titles granted to several hierarchs as marks of prestige, these monastic figures usually had many groups of supporters and benefactors with much more real power in the Tibetan heartland, as will be seen, than that which could be mustered by the Chinese envoys dispatched to Tibet or by their imperial lords.

Chinese envoys in Tibet, rather than having the kind of influence that would have permitted them to exercise any power in maintaining the conditions of disunity then prevailing there (conditions that actually predated the establishment of the Ming dynasty), found their prestige to diminish greatly the further they travelled from the Chinese border. Not surprisingly attacks upon Chinese envoys were not unheard of, and even the *Ming shih-lu* mentions some of them during the early years of the Ming dynasty,[3] as do several Tibetan sources. We are told, for instance, that some time after the visit of the 5th Karma pa to the court of Ming Ch'eng-tsu, Chinese "gold diploma holders" (Tib. *gser yig pa*) were attacked in Se ru roṅ, a valley behind 'Bri guṅ,[4] precipitating fears that Chinese troops might be dispatched to Tibet. This was averted, it is said,

---

and especially the researches on this topic of M.Rossabi: *China and Inner Asia*, New York, 1975, 13-22, *et passim*; and The Tea and Horse Trade With Inner Asia During the Ming. *Journal of Asian History IV*, 1970, 136-168.

* Chinese characters are given in alphabetical order at the end of the paper.

[3] See those mentioned in *Mindai Seizō shiryō* (hereafter *MSL*, as this work is a compilation of *Ming shih-lu* notices concerning Tibet), in Tamura Jitsuzō, ed., *Mindai Man-Mō shiryō*, Kyoto 1959, vol.10, pp.7,17, and 65.

[4] This is quite likely the Se ri roṅ where Yüan troops were stationed in the late thirteenth century according to Shri-bhu-ti-bha-dra, *Rgya-Bod-kyi yig tshaṅ mkhas-pa dga'-byed chen-mo 'dzam-gliṅ gsal-ba'i me-loṅ*; Thimphu 1979, I, 209r. See also L. Petech, Sang-ko, A Tibetan Statesman in Yüan China. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae XXXIV*, 1980, 199.

by the 5th Karma pa himself, through actions that are unspecified.[5] In another instance it is related that Chinese gold diploma holders were attacked and robbed by people of Khyuṅ po,[6] an incident that likewise resulted in fears of a punitive Chinese military expedition. On this occasion it was bKra śis dpal brtsegs, the abbot of sTag luṅ, whose intervention alleviated the tense situation. Through his mediation efforts, as well as his liberal distribution of gifts, he was able to restore the stolen goods, including eleven "letters patent" (Tib. *ka'o miṅ* for Ch. *Kao-ming*)[7] destined for various Tibetan figures, to the Chinese envoys. Once again the feared Chinese expedition did not materialize.[8]

The Chinese court was never, in fact, able to mount a military expedition beyond the Sino-Tibetan frontier regions. This fact becomes strikingly obvious as one glances through both Tibetan and Chinese sources for the period in question, and it becomes hard to believe that the actual impotence of China in Tibetan affairs could not have been equally clear to Tibetan figures of that time. It is thus easy to imagine how it could come to pass, scarcely a century later, that the Ming embassy under the eunuch Liu Yün which was dispatched to the 8th Karma pa could be attacked and pillaged with virtual impunity.[9]

In the early Ming court actually intended to attempt to exert a divisive influence in Central Tibetan affairs it would only have been logical for there to have been some signs of Chinese intervention in the vicissitudes of the Phag mo gru pa rulers, especially in the rather significant "internal revolt" (Tib. *naṅ ziṅ*) that occured during the reign of Ming Ch'eng-tsu. Tibetan sources, tellingly, make no mention of such

---

[5] Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag 'phreṅ-ba, *Chos-'byuṅ mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* (hereafter *Dpa'-bo*), New Delhi 1961, 524; and Si-tu paṇ-chen Chos-kyi 'byuṅ-gnas, *Bsgrub-brgyud karma kam-tshaṅ brgyud-pa rin-po-che'i rnam-par thar-pa rab-'byams nor-bu zla-ba chu-śel gyi phreṅ-ba* (hereafter *Si-tu*), New Delhi 1972, I, 235v. The incident took place so-some time between 1408, when the hierarch departed from China, and 1415, the year of his death.

[6] The Tibetan district situated between the upper reaches of the rDza chu and Nag chu rivers.

[7] *Kao-ming* were Chinese documents that served as credentials in the bestowal of honorary titles; see W.Franke, Patents for hereditary ranks and honorary titles during the Ch'ing dynasty. *Monumenta Serica VII*, 38-67. The borrowing of this term into Tibetan is also noted in G.N.Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (hereafter *BA*), Delhi 1976, 646. The dispatch of *kao-ming* to Tibetan hierarchs is mentioned now and again in the *MSL* notices concerning the reign of Ming Ch'eng-tsu; see, for instance, *MSL* 52, 62-65, 68, and 72.

[8] Stag-luṅ-pa Ṅag-dbaṅ rnam-rgyal, *Chos-'byuṅ ṅo-mtshar rgya-mtsho* (hereafter *Stag-luṅ-pa*), Tashijong 1972, Ña, 132r-132v.

[9] *Si-tu* II, 11v-12r; *Dpa'-bo* 680.

intervention, while Chinese sources are totally silent about the internal revolt.[10]

It ought to be clear, then, that the main thrust of the Tibetan policy of the early Ming lay beyond the realm of maintaining Confucian ideals of China's foreign relations. To begin with, the dynasty's first emperors had quite sincere religious interests in Tibet. This has been shown elsewhere and there is no need to reiterate the evidence for that here.[11] The role of commerce in early Ming-Tibetan relations, however, has conversely received little attention, and its major component, the trade in tea for horses has been given only scant notice.[12]

The commercial aspect of the dealings between Tibet and China during this period is clearly alluded to in various sources. Thus, among the recipients of the gifts distributed by bKra śis dpal brtsegs in the wake of the aforementioned attack upon Chinese envoys by people of Khyuṅ po were, according to the sTag luṅ *chos 'byuṅ* written by Ṅag dbaṅ rnam rgyal, merchants from dBus and gTsaṅ who were associated with the Chinese gold diploma holders.[13] The fact that these envoys were carrying letters patent indicates that their embassy was a diplomatic one, and yet this was obviously not in contradiction with their commercial dealings. On a similar note, one reads in the *Sa skya gduṅ rabs chen mo* that when Nam mkha' legs pa'i rgyal mtshan of the sTag tshaṅ branch of the Dus mchod Sa skya pa was given the title, seal, and diploma of *fu-chiao wang* by Ming Ch'eng-tsu, he was also given another diploma for "mutual presentations", i.e., for trade between himself and the Ming court.[14] It can

---

[10] Chang T'ing-yü, *et al.*, *Ming-shih* (Hereafter *MS*), Peking 1974 and *MSL* both give no indication whatsoever that the Chinese court knew about the "internal revolt", although it created a good deal of instability in Central Tibet; see *Stag-luṅ-pa* Ña, 131v.; and (for a general description) Tsepon W.D. Shakapba, *Tibet, A Political History*, New Haven 1967, 83.

[11] See E.Eperling, The 5th Karma-pa and Some Aspects of the Relationship Between Tibet and the Early Ming. M.Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, eds., *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, Warminster 1980, 280-289.

[12] Although the works by Serruys and Rossabi cited in note 2 all acknowledge the establishment of horse markets in areas along the Sino-Tibetan border area, only Serruys (25 and 83-91) says more than a few words specifically about the trade in tea for Tibetan horses. See also Tani Mitsutaka, A Study on Horse Administration in the Ming Period, *Acta Asiatica XXI*, 1971, 74, 76, 79, and 83.

[13] *Stag-luṅ-pa* Ña, 132r-132v.

[14] Ṅag-dbaṅ kuṅ-dga' bsod-nams, *'Dzam-gliṅ byaṅ-phyogs-kyi thub-pa'i rgyal-tshab chen-po dpal-ldan Sa-skya-pa'i gduṅ-rabs rin-po-che ji-ltar byon-pa'i tshul-gyi rnam-par thar-pa ṅo-mtshar rin-po-che'i baṅ-mdzod dgos-'dod kun-'byuṅ* (hereafter *Sa-skya*), Dolanji 1975, 229r. The Chinese title is given here in Tibetan as *tu* (*sic*, read *hu*) *kya ho vaṅ*. For the Chinese notices on the grant of the title see *MS* ch.331, 8585;

be seen then that trade was a definite component in Ming diplomatic overtures towards Tibet, and the *Ming shih-lu* also makes note, here and there, of official Chinese contacts with Tibetan merchants.[15]

The sTag luṅ pa, while not a strong force in Tibet militarily, seem to have had a good deal of economic power during these times. In particular, bKra śis dpal brtsegs performed quite successfully as a mediator in several disputes, using his monastery's wealth to obtain settlements.[16] It was no doubt the economic position and influence of the sTag luṅ pa, as revealed in the aftermath of the Khyuṅ po attack on the Chinese envoys, that induced the court of Ming Ch'eng-tsu to enter into contact with bKra śis dpal brtsegs. The abbot of sTag luṅ was presented with gifts, seals, and a title by the emperor, and enjoyed a good deal of contact with Chinese envoys.[17] Strangely enough, however, neither bKra śis dpal brtsegs nor the sTag luṅ pa appear in any of the Chinese sources on the Ming.[18]

---

and *MSL* 63-64, which also mentions the grant of an unspecified diploma (or diplomas). Speculation by G.Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Roma 1949, 92, that the sTag tshaṅ pa might be a sub-sect of the bKa' brgyud pa, obscured their Sa skya pa affiliation for a long time (even though Tucci had included Nam mkha' legs pa'i rgyal mtshan in his geneological chart of the Sa skya pa: *op.cit.*, table I) Tentative bKa' brgyud pa identification has been given by T.V.Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad*, Roma 1962, 146; and A.Ferrari, *mKhyen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*, Roma 1958, 120. Karmay, *op.cit.*, 98, also mentions the sTag tshaṅ pa as bKa' brgyud pa, without qualification. Satō, *op.cit.*, 1964, 498-502, however, correctly pointed out their Sa skya pa affiliation, and this is of course confirmed by the biography of Nam mkha' legs pa'i rgyal mtshan in *Sa-skya* 228v-229r.

15 See, for instance, the references to "Tibetan merchants" (Ch. *Fan-shang*) in *MSL* 45 and 50. The Ming embassy of Liu Yün, already mentioned, is another instance, a century later, of a diplomatic embassy engaging in commercial activities on a very large scale according to one Tibetan source; see *Dpa'-bo* 678-679.

16 See the disputes recounted in *Stag-luṅ-pa* Ña, 129v-130r, 131v, and 133v-134r.

17 Incidents of bKra śis dpal brtsegs dealing with representatives of the Ming court are recorded in *Stag-luṅ-pa* Ña, 132r-132v, 135v, 137r, and 142v-143v.

18 There can be no doubt about bKra śis brtsegs having received various honors from the Chinese court, since Ṅag dbaṅ rnam rgyal (*Stag-luṅ-pa* Ña, 143v) has described the presents given, even down to the Chinese inscription on one of the seals:

> And even in the silver seal inscription there was (written) *ching-hsiu t'ung-wu kuo-shih*, (meaning) "great meditator, omniscient one, lama of the king and teacher of the nation."
>
> *dṅul tham gyi kha byaṅ la'aṅ | ciṅ ze'u thuṅ u kvo'i śrī źes sgom chen thams cad mkhyen pa rgyal po'i bla ma rgyal khams kyi slob dpon yin .....*

The various elements of the Chinese title are easily reconstructed from the Tibetan transcription and translation, as well as from their appearance in other titles granted by the Ming court; cf. *MSL* 56-57 for the use of *ching-hsiu*, and *MSL* 55 for the use of *t'ung-wu*. Concerning *kuo-shih*, see n.29, below.

It is quite a different matter with their 'Bri guṅ pa rivals, who figure rather prominently in records in the *Ming-shih* and the *Ming shih-lu* of the early years of the Ming dynasty. The reason for this is certainly their relative military strength and their intimate involvement in the horse trade which was vital to Ming China during these years. A few words on this commerce are in order here.

The early years of the Ming dynasty constituted a period of tension along the Chinese state's northern border where the remnants of the expelled Mongol ruling circle of the Yüan dynasty had regrouped themselves. In addition to the threat that they posed there, they made it all but impossible for the Ming to obtain horses from Mongolia, a traditional source of horses for China.[19] The resulting situation has been amply described by several scholars;[20] however, to restate it in a few words, one may say that China's new rulers were desperate to secure horses from any quarter, and they dispatched envoys in search of suitable mounts as far afield as the Ryukyu Islands.[21] Needless to say, under such conditions Tibet took on special significance for the early Ming court, since the excellence of Tibetan horses had long been acknowledged by the Chinese.[22]

As a result of the well-known need of Ming China for horses, many foreign missions to the Chinese court brought horses with them for presensation as "tribute". Since such missions expected reciprocal gifts of at least equal value in return, this was only natural.[23] This form of commerce could not come close, however, to fulfilling China's need for horses. Naturally border horse markets sprang up and with them a lively commerce in Chinese tea for foreign horses.[24] Although the Ming government tried to monopolize and thus control the trade, this was scarcely possible, and smuggling and private dealings were widespread.

Tibetan horses were obtained in the same ways, that is as "tribute" or in trade for tea. The *Ming-shih* is quite specific about China's need for Tibetan horses, and the government's rather urgent attempts to find the commodity that China could best use in trading for them (although

[19] Rossabi, *op.cit.*, 1970, 136.

[20] Serruys, *op.cit.* 26 notes that Ming records mention Mongolia only once, prior to 1400, as a source of horses.

[21] *Ibid.* 26.

[22] Tibetan horses have been appreciated in China since at least the T'ang dynasty; see Sung Ch'i and Ou-yang Hsiu, *Hsin T'ang-shu*, Peking 1975, 6072.

[23] Rossabi, *op.cit.*, 1970, 139-140; and *op.cit.*, 1975, 71.

[24] Rossabi, *op.cit.*, 1975, 78-79.

items other than tea, such as silks, salt, and silver continued to be used along with tea in exchange for horses throughout the dynasty).[25]

As "tribute" items, horses figure quite commonly in the lists of goods presented by various Tibetan missions to the early Ming court. It is interesting to note, in fact, that missions from the sects of seven of the well-known group of eight "religious kings" of Tibet described in *chüan* 331 of the *Ming-shih* are mentioned in the *Ming shih-lu* as having presented horses to the court of Ming Ch'eng-tsu.[26] Since horses were important units of wealth, it is only to be expected that the hierarchs of prominent sects and monasteries would have access to considerable numbers of them, both to use as gifts, and as items of trade. The Ming court knew this quite well and encouraged the presentation of horses by Tibetan missions.[27] This fact stands out in Chinese sources, although a Confucian veneer is often applied to records of the court's dealings with these embassies. Thus, for example, one reads in the *Ming shih-lu* that on February 5, 1391, an envoy of Chos kyi rgyal po, the abbot of 'Bri guṅ, arrived at court to offer up (for renewal, no doubt) official seals that had formerly been granted to the 'Bri guṅ pa by the Yüan court.[28] This is the only reference to Chos kyi rgyal po by name, although another mission which presented horses is recorded as having been sent by the "national precep-

[25] *MS*, ch.330, 8540:

> The emperor (Ming T'ai-tsu) assumed that horses would gradually increase by trading with the Tibetans, (who) produce horses. However, the commodities that they use are different from those of China. After the paper currency laws were changed, the horses decreased, and (the emperor) was troubled by that. In the fifth month of the eighth year [of Hung-wu = 31/5/1375-29/6/1375] the court official Chao Ch'eng was ordered to Ho-chou, carrying silks, damasks, and tea from Pa [in Szechwan] to trade. Horses were moderately traded. He generally gave substantial amounts in recompense for their value .....All of the Tibetan tribes came to trade horses.

A similar account is given in *MSL* 16, specifying June 8, 1375 as the date of Chao's dispatch. Ho-chou was located on the A mdo border; see Serruys, *op.cit.* 25. Concerning paper money during the early Ming, see Ch.O.Hucker, *The Ming Dynasty: its Origins and Evolving Institutions*, Ann Arbor 1978, 60.

[26] Note the references to the presentation of horses by the 'Bri guṅ pa, *MSL* 48, 58, 59, and 66; the Phag mo gru pa, *MSL* 58 and 66; the Lha khaṅ Sa skya pa, *MSL* 65; the dGe lugs pa, *MSL* 67; the Karma pa, *MSL* 68; the Gon gyo Sa skya pa, *MSL* 54 and 66; and the Gliṅ tshaṅ Sa skya pa, *MSL* 70.

[27] Rossabi, *op.cit.*, 1970, 139.

[28] *MSL* 37. The embassy is said to have come from the "'Bri guṅ *lama rin po che* Chos kyi rgyal po" (Ch. Pi-li-kung *shang-shih-nien-pu-she* Shuo-ssu-chi chieh-pu).

tor" (Ch.*kuo-shih*).[29] of 'Bri guṅ during the tenure of Chos kyi rgyal po as abbot.[30]

The only mentions of China in Tibetan biographies of Chos kyi rgyal po, however, are with regard to the dispatch of horses for presentation there and these mentions are only given in anecdotal accounts meant to demonstrate the hierarch's gifts of prescience; he correctly foretold a devastating Mongol attack upon the seemingly large embassy when it reached the 'Bri chu.[31] Still, as the accounts make clear, large caravans carrying valuable commercial items could certainly be plundered en route, regardless of the prestige of the principals involved in the venture.[32] The strength of the 'Bri guṅ pa did not, however, rest solely on prestige. The sect had developed its own military structures during and after its confrontations with Sa skya power in Tibet in the thirteenth century, and this strength allowed the 'Bri guṅ pa to exert a good deal of influence over the horse trade.

The office of the civil and military governor of the 'Bri guṅ pa was termed *sgom pa*, and these officials played a role in the administrative structure of the 'Bri guṅ pa similar to that of the *dpon chen* in the organization of the Sa skya pa.[33] Since they wielded considerable power, the 'Bri guṅ pa *sgom pa* naturally came to the attention of the Chinese court. Thus one reads in the 'Bri guṅ *gser phreṅ* of Che tshaṅ bsTan 'dzin padma'i rgyal mtshan that:

[29] A common title borrowed into Tibetan and generally rendered as *gu śrī, kvo'i śrī* (as in n.18), or other similar variations; see B.Laufer, Loan Words in Tibetan. *T'oung Pao XVII*, 1916, 524.

[30] *MSL* 48.

[31] 'Bri-guṅ chos-rje Kun-dga' rin-chen, *Dpal-ldan bla-ma dam-pa Kun-dga' rin-chen gyi rnam-par thar-pa daṅ bka'-'bum 'thor-bu'i dbu-phyogs* (hereafter *'Bri-guṅ chos-rje*), Leh 1972, 70v-71r; and Che-tshaṅ sprul-sku Bstan-'dzin padma'i rgyal-mtshan, *Ṅes-don bstan-pa'i sñiṅ-po 'Bri-guṅ-pa chen-po'i gdan-rabs chos-kyi byuṅ-tshul gser-gyi phreṅ-ba* (hereafter *Che-tshaṅ*), Bir 1977, 98v. Concerning the geographical distribution of the Mongols in China during this period, see H.Serruys, The Mongols in China During the Hung-wu Period. *Melanges chinois et bouddhiques XI*, 1959, 176-213.

[32] See the instances cited in n.3 of attacks on Chinese envoys.

[33] *Che-tshaṅ* 103v:

After that there appeared in succession the *sgom pa* Kun (dga') rin (chen), and others, and taking up the responsibility for the governance of 'Bri guṅ they were called *sgom pa* .....

de nas sgom pa Kun rin sogs rim par byuṅ bar | 'Bri guṅ gi srid skyoṅ gi khur bzuṅ bar sgom pa źes brjod la .....

Concerning Kun dga' rin chen and the other *sgom pa*, as well as the office itself, see Tucci, *op.cit.* 631 and 689.

> In the iron-dragon year (1400-1401) ... there came from the great emperor of China, seals for the orders and positions of *kuan-ting ta kuo-shih* (Tib. *kwan tiṅ tā gu śrī*) for the dharmasvāmin Don grub rgyal po, and *tsung-ch'i* (Tib. *dzoṅ ji*) for the *sgom pa* bSod nams rin chen.[34]

An entry in the *Ming shih-lu* for February 15, 1409, makes note of a Tibetan embassy that presented horses, among other things, to the court of Ming Ch'eng-tsu. The embassy had been sent out by several people, including Don grub rgyal po, then the abbot of 'Bri guṅ, and bSod nams rin chen, who is described as holding the title *chih-hui ch'ien-shih*.[35] Like *tsung-ch'i*, this, too, is a military title, and both positions were common ones in the Ming military organization; *tsung-ch'i* (or "general ensign") was not ranked, but *chih-hui ch'ien-shih* (or "secretary commandant") belonged to the principal fourth rank.[36] It is logical to assume that bSod nams rin chen had received a promotion of sorts from the court in the nine years intervening between the two notices just cited. Nevertheless, the title *tsung-ch'i* is the one that Tibetan sources give to bSod nams rin chen.[37] Other Tibetans of the period also appear in various records with this title, which thus seems to have been used now and then, but generally only for military figures, in much the same way that the Chinese title *kuo-shih* was often used for high ranking clerical figures.[38]

The *Ming shih-lu* notice mentioning bSod nams rin chen states that he held his position in a specific area, Lung-tu, located along the Sino-

[34] *Che-tshaṅ* 98r:
lcags 'brug lo.....rGya nag goṅ ma chen po nas chos rje Don grub rgyal po la kvan tiṅ tā gu śrī daṅ | sgom pa bSod ṅams rin chen la dzoṅ ji'i luṅ las tham kha sogs byuṅ |

[35] *MSL* 58. Concerning the dates of Don grub rgyal po's abbotship, see n.47.

[36] Serruys, *op.cit.*, 1959, 98, discusses these titles as well as the assimilation of a foreign element, the Mongols, into Chinese military administrative structures.

[37] See the references to him in Tucci, *op.cit.*, 631; and *BA* 642.

[38] The title *tsung-ch'i* has generally been misunderstood by scholars working only from the Tibetan form of the title, *dzoṅ ji*. Thus the mention of bSod nams rin chen in *BA* 642, refers to him ambiguously as "J̌oṅ-ǰi bSod-nams rin-čhen", and 641 simply as "J̌on-ǰi". Tucci, *op.cit.* 631, in his reference to bSod nams rin chen refers to him as "rDsoṅ ji", which then makes the term seem like the title of a district official. The term appears similarly as *rdzoṅ ji* in *Stag-luṅ-pa* Ña, 129v-130r, with reference to rGyal mtshan bzaṅ po, a Phag mo gru pa military official who also held the title during this period, but who is referred to by Tucci, *op.cit.*, 645, as "rGyal mts'an bzaṅ po of rDzoṅ p'yi". In spite of all these differing interpretations, it is clear from the reference in *Che-tshaṅ* 98r, that *dzoṅ ji* is a Chinese title, and its being granted to military figur indicates that it can't be anything other than the Chinese title *tsung-ch'i*.

Tibetan border region.[39] Although he certainly wasn't based there, it is more than likely that in granting him a military title the Chinese government affiliated him with their garrison base closest to the territory over which he held sway. His position was also probably commensurate with the strength of the troops under his command, a probable assumption in view of the Ming practice of making such evaluations in granting military titles to Mongol commanders who came over to the Ming with their armies.[40] In any event, it seems clear that bSod nams rin chen performed military activities or services that proved to be beneficial, in some way, to the Ming, and this is reflected in the subsequent grant of titles to him. As *sgom pa* he would certainly have been active in maintaining the security that was necessary for diplomatic and commercial intercourse.

Such circumstances are quite clear in the career of Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan, the son of Don grub rgyal po who served as *sgom pa* sometime after bSod nams rin chen[41] and as the nominal abbot of 'Bri guṅ after the tenure of his father. Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan is first mentioned in the *Ming shih-lu* in an entry dated June 6, 1413, recording the bestowal of titles by Ming Ch'eng-tsu on various Tibetan hierarchs during the time of the visit of Kun dga' bkra śis of the Lha khaṅ Sa skya pa to the Chinese court.[42] According to this notice, Don grub rgyal po was given the title of *kuan-ting hui-tz'u ching-chieh ta kuo-shih*[43] and his son, Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan that of *ch'an-chiao wang*, a much

[39] The administrative capital (*tu*), no doubt, of Lung-chou, concerning which see *MS*, ch. 42, 999.

[40] Serruys, *op.cit.*, 1959, 98.

[41] The succession of the *sgom pa* of 'Bri guṅ is not very clear, but see Tucci, *op.cit.* 631.

[42] *MSL* 63. *Dpa'-bo* (a Karma pa source) 524, implies that among the titles that are mentioned here, those of *fu-chiao wang* and *ch'an-chiao wang*, given, respectively, to Nam mkha' legs pa'i rgyal mtshan of the sTag tshaṅ Sa skya pa, and Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan of the 'Bri guṅ pa (as well as those of all of the other six "religious kings") were granted due to the in fluence of the 5th Karma pa.

[43] As has already been seen, however, *Che-tshaṅ* 98r, notes that he was already accorded the title of *kuo-shih*, or "national preceptor", as early as 1400-1401, and in fact it was not unusual for Tibetan figures to receive the title on more than one occasion, in different forms. Thus, *MSL* 51, mentions him with that title in an entry dated February 23, 1406.

higher title which, in fact, placed him in the ranks of the eight previously mentioned "religious kings" holding similar titles.[44] What is so striking about this is that it occurred while Don grub rgyal po was still serving as the abbot of 'Bri guṅ. The only significant position that Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan had held up to that time, according to the available biographical materials, was that of *sgom pa*. Still, his activities in that office were probably very well known to the Chinese court.

All of the major sources on the life of Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan contain similar accounts about him as well as, unfortunately, a similar dearth of dates for the events that they describe.[45] One reads in these biographies that Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan performed the duties of *sgom pa* quite resolutely, if not ruthlessly. Ultimately, after inflicting a particularly bloody defeat upon the "Black Mongols" (Tib. Nag sog) who seem to have been pillaging 'Bri guṅ pa properties, he was filled with remorse at the sight of all the carnage that lay about what had been the enemy encampment. He returned to 'Bri guṅ, renounced the office of *sgom pa*, took ordination as a monk from his father and devoted himself to religion for the rest of his life.[46] Although he was pressed to take up the office of abbot of 'Bri guṅ after his father's death in 1427, he refused.[47] Still, his prestige must have been considerable, for the abbot's chair was left vacant for years, until his own son was able to take it, and yet he is nonetheless included, nominally at least, in the rosters of the abbots of 'Bri guṅ.[48]

It was undoubtedly Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan's activities in the civil administration of the 'Bri guṅ pa that resulted in his receiving greater attention than his father from the court of Ming Ch'eng-tsu. In fact the previously cited entry in the *Ming shih-lu* regarding the titles given to Don grub rgyal po and Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan, is the last mention of Don grub rgyal po to be found in the court records. Thereafter,

[44] The eight "religious kings" are described (as noted) in *chüan* 331 of the *Ming-shih*: *MS* ch.331, 8571-8585. The *ch'an-chiao wang* is described on p.8584.

[45] See his biographies in *'Bri-guṅ chos-rje* 78r-80r; *Che-tshaṅ* 103r-105v; and *Dpa'-bo* 750-751.

[46] *Dpa'-bo* 751 states that he remained in seclusion for eleven years after renouncing the office of *sgom pa*.

it is Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan who is always mentioned in the *Ming shih-lu* with regard to the 'Bri guṅ pa in spite of the fact that Don grub rgyal po still served as the abbot of 'Bri guṅ for fourteen more years following the grant of the titles.[49]

[47] There is a good deal of confusion about Don grub rgyal po's birth and death dates. Satō, *op.cit.*, *Tōyō gakuhō*, 1963, 436, gives them as 1357-1415. However, since it is agreed upon by all of the biographical sources on Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan that he was ordained by his father, and became a monk a f t e r he had fathered a son, Rin chen dpal bzaṅ po, who was to follow his nominal tenure as abbot of 'Bri guṅ and serve in the post himself, and since all of the sources state that Rin chen dpal bzaṅ po was born in the female-iron-ox year (1421-1422; see *'Bri-guṅ chos-rje* 80r; *Che-tshaṅ* 105v: and *Dpa'-bo* 751), a death date of 1415 is not possible. All of the sources agree that Don grub rgyal po lived for fifty-eight years (i.e., he lived into his fifty-ninth "Tibetan" year) and that he was born in a bird year and died in a sheep year. *Dpa'-bo* 750 speciefies the date of his death as the iron-sheep year (1451-1452), which is an obvious error. *Che-tshaṅ* 100r, however, specifies the year of his birth as the female-earth-bird year (1369-1370), which accords perfectly with the fact that Rin chen dpal bzaṅ po was born in 1421, for this would fix his date of death as the year 1427-1428. There are further discrepancies, however, with regard to the dates given in the sources for Don grub rgyal po's accession to the abbotship. According to both *Dpa'-bo* 750 and *'Bri-guṅ chos-rje* 74v, this happened when he was forty-five years old, or in 1413-1414. *Che-tshaṅ* 101r, however, says that it happened in his thirty-ninth year, or 1407-1408, which matches the date of death of the previous abbot, Chos kyi rgyal po, that is given in *'Bri-guṅ chos-rje* (but not in the other sources) 72r, as the female-fire-pig year (1407-1408). *Che-tshaṅ*, *loc.cit.*, also assigns a Tibetan year date to Don grub rgyal po's accession, the wood-pig year (1395-1396), which is obviously erroneous in the element part of the date, since it contradicts the birth-date given two folia before, assuming Don grub rgyal po became the abbot of 'Bri guṅ at the age of thirty-nine. The first mention of him in Chinese sources also dates from around this time, the entry in *MSL* 51, dated February 23, 1406, and already mentioned in n.43. As has been shown, however, he received a title from the Chinese court as early as 1400-1401.

[48] The sources cited in n.45 place his biography in the correct chronological position of the abbot who followed Don grub rgyal po in the post. *'Bri-guṅ chos-rje* 79v and *Dpa'-bo* 751 both state that he fled three days after being asked to take the abbotship of 'Bri guṅ following Don grub rgyal po's death. *Che-tshaṅ* 105r states that he sat on the abbot's throne for one and a half months before finally using force to flee (*Dpa'-bo*, *loc.cit.*, states that force had to be used to hold him after he was asked to become the abbot). All of the sources state that he ran off to Wu-t'ai-shan, the famous Buddhist pilgrimage site in China, and that he is widely known to be dwelling there still.

[49] The last mentions of Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan in *MSL* occur in entries recording the dispatch of a mission to him on April 29, 1427, the year of Don grub rgyal po's death (*MSL* 86), and an imperial decree stating that his son was to inherit the title *ch'an-chiao wang*, dated June 1, 1430 (*MSL* 107).

Some further light is shed upon this, however, by the accounts of the defeat of the Black Mongols. Their main transgression, one reads, is that they murdered an official referred to only as the *lo rta dpon*, or "year horse official".[50] The significance of this is clarified further when it is seen that the *Ming-shih* states that:

> The Tibetans yearly exchange horses for tea.[51]

It is logical then, to assume that the *lo rta dpon* was connected precisely with the horse trade, in which the 'Bri guṅ pa played a fairly significant part, and that Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan's attack upon the Black Mongols resulted from his role, as *sgom pa*, in safeguarding those territories and trade routes under the jurisdiction of the 'Bri guṅ pa. The Black Mongols are otherwise unidentified, but it is interesting to note that the *Ming shih-lu* records the plunder of a horse relay station (Ch. *i*) in 1378, seemingly in the vicinity of the Sino-Tibetan border regions, by a people termed the "Black Tartars" (Ch. Hei Ta-tan), who are also otherwise unidentified.[52] If, as is very possible, these two groups are one and the same, it becomes even easier to understand the special honor shown to Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan by the Ming court. China had very specific interests in maintaining good relations with those figures who played important roles in the commerce in Tibetan horses, and in this case it meant showing special favor to the *sgom pa* of 'Bri guṅ beyond that shown to the abbot. It was the commercial aspect of the early Ming court's relationship with the 'Bri guṅ pa rather than any policy of "divide and rule" that precipitated this seemingly inappropriate ranking of the abbot and the *sgom pa* of 'Bri guṅ in the bestowal of titles.

This attempt at maintaining influence with the commercial and economic powers in Tibet was a natural result of the position of impotence that Ming China held there. Unable to protect its embassies or even to retaliate against attacks on them, China was hardly in a position to manifest the kind of power needed to implement a policy of "divide and rule" in Tibet. In addition, in dealing with Tibet, early Ming China was usually, contrary to Confucian dogma, the supplicating party. China's great need for horses allowed Tibetan traders along the borders to charge

[50] *'Bri-guṅ chos-rje* 78v; and *Dpa'-bo* 751.

[51] *MS*, ch.330, 8541.

[52] Serruys, *op.cit.*, 1959, 242-243.

whatever prices they wished,[53] while in religious affairs the first Ming emperors were still basically petitioners requesting teachings or religious benefits from some of the hierarchs with whom they established relations.[54]

Once China's religious and economic interests in Tibet started to wane, the Ming court's diplomatic relations with Tibet also declined drastically. As the horse trade between China and the Mongols grew during the fifteenth century the commercial interests of the Ming court in Tibet also began to lessen, so that finally, when the Ming statutes were collected and printed in the late sixteenth century, horses were no longer listed as articles of "tribute" presented to the court from Tibet,[55] although their prior prominence as such is beyond doubt. In addition, dwindling imperial interest in Buddhism, and hence in the religious figures of Tibet, during the sixteenth century also contributed to a decline in diplomatic intercourse between Tibet and China long before the fall of the Ming dynasty. It is only natural to expect that a Chinese policy of "divide and rule" would have continued regardless of the state's need for Tibetan horses or attitudes toward Tibetan Buddhism, had it existed to begin with.

To underscore the absence of such a policy, one last piece of evidence ought to be adduced: There is n o t o n e r e f e r e n c e to the formulation or implementation of a Ming policy of "divide and rule" towards Tibet in any of the memorials, edicts, or accounts in the *Ming shih-lu* records of the reigns of Ming T'ai-tsu or Ming Ch'eng-tsu. Although it is possible that documentary references to such a policy were omitted, this is not very likely.[56] It is important that this significant textual

[53] Sperling, *op.cit.* 286.

[54] *Ibid.* 283-284 illustrates such a situation in the relationship between Ming Ch'eng-tsu and the 5th Karma pa.

[55] See the lists of "tribute items" from Tibet recorded in Shen Shih-hsing, *et al.*, *Ming hui-tien*, Taipei 1968, 2321-2328.

[56] There are records of several memorials on the topic of border policy having been presented to the court of Ming T'ai-tsu. Among the ideas that they discussed were the use of Chinese settlers to cultivate land in the Sino-Tibetan border regions with the eventual aim of gaining control over the areas and their populations (*MSL* 30); the manipulation of what the Chinese perceived to be the Tibetans' near addiction to tea as a means to control them and obtain horses (*MSL* 34 and 43); and military alliances with powerful border figures to control the border (*MSL* 34). Nowhere, however, is there any mention of a "divide and rule" policy in Tibet, involving religious hierarchs in Central Tibet or elsewhere, in the records of either Ming T'ai-tsu's or Ming Ch'eng-tsu's reigns. Although omissions are certainly possible with regard to *MSL* (see n.18 and, for a rather negative assessment of the *MSL* records of

fact be made quite clear. In actual fact, the first mention of such a policy, crediting Ming Ch'eng-tsu with having fragmented Tibetan power through the grant of titles and special treatment to different Tibetan figures, comes only in the *Ming-shih*, as a comment of one of the authors, rather than as a narrative account or a quotation from a document.[57]

China's official dynastic histories tend, as a rule, to emphasize the Confucian virtues of a dynasty's first emperors, and in this respect the comments in the *Ming-shih* provide an ideologically proper picture of Ming Ch'eng-tsu's dealings with Tibet, if not an objective one. Dynastic histories were always written by succeeding dynasties, and the *Ming-shih* was written between 1678 and 1739. Its comments on Chinese policy toward Tibet then, might actually be of greater significance in understanding early Manchu policies in Tibet, rather than those of the early Ming. It is not, however, the aim of this paper to discuss that intriguing idea.

During the period of the early Ming, Tibet was a fragmented country, politically and otherwise. There is no question about this. Nor is there any question about the fact that many hierarchs of different sects received gifts and titles from the Ming court. There is, however, no reason for deducing a causal relationship between these two facts, and unless one can be shown, there is no basis beyond the comments of an early Ch'ing writer for assuming that the early Ming emperors attempted to implement a "divide and rule" policy in Tibet.

---

those two reigns by one of the compilers of *MS*, W.Franke, *An Introduction to the Sources of Ming History*, Kuala Lumpur 1968, 20), the exclusion of documents relating to a major foreign policy initiated a t c o u r t would amount to an act of suppression on a grand scale.

[57] *MS* ch.330, 8542:

During the Yung-lo period most of the monks in all the (Tibetan frontier) garrison (areas) who zealously practised the moral commandments received the titles of lama, *ch'an-shih* ("meditation master"), and *kuan-ting kuo-shih*. This was augmented to include *ta kuo-shih* and *hsi-t'ien fo-tzu* ("son of the buddha, i.e. 'boddhisattva', of the western heavens"). They were all given seals and patents and this was (all) permitted to be hereditary. Moreover they were all ordered to pay tribute once a year. From then on all of the monks, and all of the local officials of the garrisons converged upon the capital. Other tribal groups, such as those pertaining to the thirteen clans of Hsi-ning, the eighteen clans of Min-chou, and the eighteen clans of T'ao-chou, the larger of them having several thousand people and the smaller of them having several hundred people, were also permitted to pay tribute once a year. They were excellently entertained and given gifts. The power of the Tibetans became increasingly divided, their strength became increasingly weak, and the troubles on the western borders also became increasingly fewer.

Interestingly enough, one of the unofficial drafts of an account of Tibet, prepared during the compilation of *MS* by one of its authors, makes no such statement; see Yu T'ung, *Ming-shih wai-kuo chuan*, Taipei 1977, 198-214.

Chinese Characters

Cha-ch'i Ssu-ch'in	札奇斯欽
ch'an-chiao wang	闡教王
ch'an-shih	禪師
Chang T'ing-yü	張廷玉
Chao Ch'eng	趙成
chao-yü	詔諭
chih-hui ch'ien-shih	指揮僉事
Chih-kuang	智光
ching-hsiu t'ung-wu kuo-shih	淨修通悟國師
chüan	卷
Fan-shang	番商
fu-chiao wang	輔教王
Hei Ta-tan	黑韃靼
Ho-chou	河州
Hsi-ning	西寧
hsi-t'ien fo-tzu	西天佛子
Hung-wu	洪武
i	驛
kao-ming	誥命

kuan-ting hui-tzu ching-chieh ta kuo-shih 灌頂慧慈淨戒大國師

kuan-ting kuo-shih 灌頂國師

kuan-ting ta kuo-shih 灌頂大國師

kuo-shih 國師

Liu Yün 劉允

Lung-chou 隴州

Lung-tu 隴都

Meng-ku yü Hsi-tsang li-shih kuan-hsi chih yen-chiu 蒙古與西藏歷史關係之研究

Min-chou 岷州

Ming ch'eng-tsu 明成祖

Ming hui-tien 明會典

Ming-shih 明史

Ming shih-lu 明實錄

Ming-shih wai-kuo chuan 明史外國傳

Ming T'ai-tsu 明太祖

Pa 巴

Pi-li-kung *shang-shih nien-pu-she* Shuo-ssu-chi chieh-pi 必力公尚師輦卜闍搠思吉結卜

Shen Shih-hsing 申時行

ta kuo-shih	大國師
T'ao-chou	洮州
tsung-ch'i	總旗
tu	都
Wu-t'ai-shan	五臺山
Yu T'ung	尤侗
Yung-lo	永樂

TIBET'S CONNECTIONS WITH NESTORIANISM AND MANICHEISM IN THE 8TH - 10TH CENTURIES

by

G.URAY (Budapest)

It has long been the subject of much controversy whether or not, and if so, to what extent Manicheism and Christianity influenced the Indian mahāyānistic and later on the Tibetan lamaistic Buddhism, as well as the Bon and the *mi chos*, the folk religion of Tibet. Apart from the statements of Pater Georgi, in which Lamaism is represented as Manicheism, and similar phantasmagoria of later periods, serious scholarly attempts were made again and again to attribute historical connections with Manicheism and Christianity, especially Nestorianism, to Mahāyāna or one of the religions of Tibet, on the basis of certain definite similarities in the doctrine, concepts and rites. Distinguished scholars such as G. Tucci, H.Hoffmann, E.Conze and H.-J.Klimkeit have expressed the opinion that there are striking analogies between gnostic-Manichean Christology and mahāyānistic Buddhology, and that manifold reciprocal historical links between Manicheism and mahāyānistic and lamaistic Buddhism have come into existence.

My limited knowledge of the doctrines, liturgies and iconography of the religions concerned prevent me from commenting on questions which belong to the field of comparative religious research. Instead, I should like to make some general comment on the passages of literary texts and the archaeological and epigraphic monuments already known, which provide historical and philological evidence for Tibet having had contact with Nestorian Christianity and Manicheism from the 8th to the 10th century. More specifically, I should like to broach the following subjects: 1. the accounts on Nestorianism in Tibet in the letters of the Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I; 2. the rock-carvings of crosses and the Sogdian inscription near Drangtse (Tankse) in Ladakh; 3. the criticism on Manicheism in a Buddhist philosophical treatise, compiled by the Tibetan king Khri Sroṅ lde bcan; 4. the occurrence of the name "Jesus, the Messiah" in a

Tibetan book of divination and the drawings of crosses in Tibetan manuscripts from the walled-up library of Tun-huang; 5. the conclusions which can be drawn about Tibet's early history from the monuments and passages mentioned.

Before entering into the discussion of the above-mentioned questions I would like to again thank Prof. H.Buschhausen (Vienna), Prof. B.Csongor (Budapest), Prof. K.Czeglédy (Budapest), Dr.I.Ecsedy (Budapest), Prof. J.Hamilton (Paris), Prof. J.Harmatta (Budapest), Prof. K.Jettmar (Heidelberg), Prof. G.Kara (Budapest), Dr.T.Much (Vienna), Prof. F.S.Pericoli Ridolfini (Rome), Prof. L.Petech (Rome), Dr.G.Somlai (Budapest), Prof. M.Soymié (Paris), Prof. E.Steinkellner (Vienna), Prof. W.Sundermann (Berlin), Dr.J.Szerb (Budapest), Dr.H.Tauscher (Vienna) and Prof. P.Zieme (Berlin) for cooperation, suggestions, readily given information and help in procuring the necessary literature. I am very much indebted to Miss Doreen J.Muenich (Obernbreit) for her assiduous help in getting this paper into its final shape. Last but not least I want to express my thanks to the Division des manuscrits orientaux of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, to Mme Monique Cohen, conservatress of the division, respectively to Prof. G.Evelyn Hutchinson (New Haven, Connecticut) for the photocopies of the drawings of crosses in the mss. Pelliot tibétain 1182 and 1676 and for the photograph of the west side of the Drangtse rock as well as for the permission to publish them.

1.

The most important information concerning Tibet's contact with Nestorianism is contained in two Syriac letters from the Catholicos Patriarch Timothy I, who was head of the Nestorian alias Chaldean church from 780 to 823. These two letters are included as nos.XLI and XLVII in the collection of Timothy's letters, which unfortunately has come down to us very incomplete. Letter XLI is addressed to the monks of the monastery of Mâr Mârôn, and letter XLVII is one of the many letters written by the Patriarch to Sergius, Metropolitan of ʿElam.

The information in Timothy's letters about Nestorianism among the Tibetans and the Turks has been well-known since the beginning of this century, and has frequently been cited in the literature on Nestorian church history and history of early Turkic tribes,[1] but methodical investigations of the letters and the information they contain were for the first time published after the Second World War. Whereas Raphaël J.

Bidawid cleared the transmission, authenticity and chronology of the letters,[2] Jean Dauvillier worked on the historical problems of the Patriarch's reports on the Turks and the Tibetans.[3] In the field of Tibetan studies it was Marcelle Lalou who examined the reports but apart from that they seem to meet with no response among the scholars of Tibetan except for Tucci who once briefly refers to them.[4]

On the basis of Bidawid's and Dauvilliers's results and of the translation of the two letters by Bidawid and Oskar Braun,[4a] the essential points of letters XLI and XLVII can be summarized as follows: In letter XLI to the monks of the monastery of Mâr Mârôn,[5] there are two passages which concern our topic. In one of them, Timothy discusses the various standpoints of the Nestorians and the Maronites in question of Christology, in connection with the controversial wording of the so-called Trisagion. At the same time, he gives us a comprehensive list of the lands and peoples where the Trisagion is recited according to Nestorian teachings. Among these peoples he also mentions the *tûptāyê* or Tibetans and the *ṭûrkāyê* or Turks.[6] In another part of the letter, Timothy declares that he was "13 years, more or less" in office,

[1] *Braun 1901*, 309 and n.1, 311 and n.1; *Labourt 1904*, 43, 45-46; *Sachau 1919*, 19-20; *Mingana 1925*, 12, 30; *Stewart 1928*, 82-83, 90; *Tisserant 1946*, 1127; *Messina 1947*, 78-79 and n.41; Kmoskó as summarized in *Czeglédy 1954*, 29 and n.28. Cf. also *Bang/Gabain 1929b*, 420; *Tisserant 1931*, 209; *Gabain 1950*, 47, where just the reports on the Turks are quoted and further discussed.

[2] *Bidawid 1956*. Concerning the letters nos. XLI and XLVII s.esp.33, 36-37, 51-54, 59-61, 65-66, 71, 74, 84-85, 89-125, and Syriac part, 1*-47*.

[3] *Dauvillier 1948*, 285, 291-292, 311 (by using Bidawid's study that in those days has not been published yet); *Dauvillier 1973*, 6-7, 203; cf. also *Spuler 1961*, 154, 157-158. - I regretably could not consult a further short study of Dauvillier, L'expansion au Tibet de l'Église chaldéenne au Moyen Age, *Bulletin de la Société toulousaine d'Etudes classiques 49*, 1950, 1-4. It, however, seems to not contain any essential statements, not mentioned in other studies of the author.

[4] *Lalou 1957*, 16; *Tucci 1973*, 39; 201, n.18.

[4a] Unfortunately, efforts to obtain a facsimile, transliteration and English translation of the relevant passages of the letters remained without success.

[5] A complete Latin translation and an edition of the Syriac text of letter XLI is published in *Bidawid 1956*, 91-125, and Syriac part, 1*-47*. *Ibid.*33 also a short summary of the letter is to be found.

[6] *Bidawid 1956*, 117; 36*, 1.18; Cf. also *Labourt 1904*, 45; *Steward 1928*, 90: *Dauvillier 1948*, 291-292 (talking unexactly about "des chrétiens du pays [sic!] des Tibêtains, Bêth Tûptàyê"!); *Bidawid 1956*, 85; *Dauvillier 1973*, 203.

and that a "king of the Turks", *malkâ dṯûrkāyê*, was converted to Christianity ten years previously, together with the greatest part of his people, and requested by letters to the Patriarch that a metropolitan should be sent - a request which had been granted.[7] The chronology can be fairly accurately estimated from the statements of the Patriarch. Since Timothy became Patriarch May 7th, 780, the year in which he held office for "13 years, more or less" can be determined as ca. 792/793 and the year of the conversion of the king of the Turks as about the third year of Timothy's pontificate, ca. 782/783.[8]

In letter XLVII[9] Timothy reports to his confidential friend Sergius that he has recently consecrated a metropolitan for the land of the Turks, *bêṯ ṭûrkāyê* and that he is also preparing to anoint one for the land of the Tibetans, *bêṯ tûptāyê*.[10] Unfortunately, this letter does not contain any information concerning the time in which it was written or in which the events referred to occurred. Therefore Bidawid only was able to determine that the letter could have been written after Sergius' consecration as Metropolitan of ʿElam presumably in 794/795, roughly between 795 and 798.[11]

---

[7] *Bidawid 1956*, 124, 46*, ll.16-27. Cf. also *Labourt 1904*, 43; *Mingana 1925*, 12; *Tisserant 1931*, col.209; *Messina 1947*, 78; *Dauvillier 1948*, 285; *Bidawid 1956*, 52, 80. - In his famous *Book of the Tower* Mārī ibn Sulaymān, a Nestorian historian of the 12th-13th centuries writing in Arabic, as well reports on the conversion of the ruler, *ḫāqān*, of the Turks and his letters to Timothy; see *Labourt 1904*, 43; *Mingana 1925*, 14; *Tisserant 1931*, 209; *Messina 1947*, 78; *Bidawid 1956*, 51-52, 84-85.

[8] In spite of the intelligible statements of the Patriarch, Bidawid has been the very first one who all-out exactly ascertained the time of writing of the letter XLI, to the Maronites (*1956*, 60, 65-66, 74) and the year of the conversion of the Turkic king (*1956*, 80). The data given in previous studies essentially were unsufficient and that due to the fact that of the letters to the Maronites just the passages translated by Labourt, who in his version of the queried passage wrote 12 instead of 13 years (*1904*, 43; cf. the rectification in *Bidawid 1956*, 124 n.1), were accessible to the majority of the scholars. This act of miswriting was in some cases even combined with miscalculation and other faults. Thus for instance Bang/Gabain (*1929b*, 420) ascertained the year 781/783, Tisserant (*1931*, 209) "la deuxième année de son pontificat [c.-à-d. de Thimothée-I] (782-3)" and Gabain (*1950*, 47) the year 781 to be the time of the conversion of the Turkic king. Mingana's (*1925*, 12) and Stewart's (*1928*, 82-83) allegation that ca. 781 has been the time of writing of the letter to the Maronites is basically ill-conceived. Concerning the date of the letter Dauvillier (*1948*, 291; *1973*, 203) adopted Bidawid's definition, concerning the conversion of the Turkic king he, however, maintained Tisserant's contradictory styling (*Dauvillier 1948*, 285).

[9] A complete edition and German translation of the letter is published in *Braun 1901*, 300-313. A short summary is given in *Bidawid 1956*, 36-37.

[10] *Braun 1901*, 308, ll.18-20; transl.309-311. Cf. also *Labourt 1904*, 43 and esp. 45-46; *Sachau 1919*, 19-20; *Mingana 1925*; 12; *Stewart 1928*, 82-83; *Messina 1947*, 78 and n.41; *Dauvillier 1948*, 285, 292; Kmoskó as summarized in *Czeglédy 1954*, 29; *Bidawid 1956*, 37, 85; *Dauvillier 1973*, 7, 203.

[11] *Bidawid 1956*, 59-61, 71, 74. His dating is applied in *Dauvillier 1948*, 285, 292, and in *Dauvillier 1973*, 203, too.

At this point, I should like to briefly refer to the problems which arise out of Timothy's account of the conversion of the Turks. According to Dauvillier, Pelliot had the impression that this account deals with the Turks of the area around Otrar at the middle course of the Sîr-daryâ.[12] A.von Gabain, on the other hand, framed a hypothesis which was taken up by Spuler and more recently by Ugo Marazzi, according to which the "king of the Turks", who was converted to Christianity around 782, was the Uighur ruler Tun mo-ho ta-kan (**Tun Baġa tarqan*), also known as Họ Ku-tu-lu P'i-chia (**Alp Qutluġ Bilgä*) Qaġan, who came to power in 779 following a *coup d'état* against Mou-yü (**Bögü*) Qaġan and his Sogdian advisors who had made Manicheism the state religion.[13] Unfortunately, the data available are insufficient to answer the question decisively.[14] It is also open to question whether in letters XLI and XLVII one metropolitan or two successive metropolitans of the Turks are meant.[15]

[12] *Dauvillier 1948*, 285; *Dauvillier 1973*, 6-7.

[13] *Gabain 1950*, 47; *Spuler 1961*, 154; *Marazzi 1979*, 242. - Even K.Tasaka and C. Mackerras suppose that Tun mo-ho's "*coup d'état* was not merely anti-Sogdian but also anti-Manichean" yet according to their opinion Tun has favoured "a return to the natural cults of the Turkic peoples"; s.*Mackerras 1972*, 10, 36, and esp. 152-153, n.146.

[14] In order to identify the "king" of the Turks with the Uighur ruler one could bring forward the argument that Mārī styles this "king" *h̲āqān* (s. above, n.7) and that under the Turkic chieftains in the 780ies exclusively the Uighur ruler has had the title of *qaġan*. Yet Mārī was writing in Arabic during the 12th-13th centuries, the time the Arabs addressed the chieftains of each greater Turkic and Mongolian tribal confederation as *h̲āqān*. Timothy himself only makes use of the title *malkâ*.

[15] According to Dauvillier (*1948*, 285) Timothy is supposed to speak in his letter XLI to the Maronites as well as in his letter XLVII to Sergius about the dispatch respectively the consecration of one and the same Metropolitan to the Turks. One can object to this averment that in the letter to the Maronites the conversion of the Turkic king is described as an event happening ten years before the letter was written, i.e., ca. 782/783, yet in the letter to Sergius the consecration of the Metropolitan is mentioned as an occurence taking place shortly before the time of writing of this letter, i.e., before 795/798. Prof. Pericoli Ridolfini whom, as an expert in the field of Syriac, I asked for his opinion on this question considers it to be possible that both letters are about one and the same Metropolitan. On the basis of the letter to the Maronites one can just date the conversion of the Turkic king from the beginning of Timothy's pontificate, whereas it is not safe to say whether the dispatch of a Metropolitan to the Turks took place at the same time or later than the conversion did, may be only when the letter to the Maronites, i.e., ca. 792/793 was written. Thus Prof. Pericoli Ridolfini draws the conclusion that in consideration of the texts being at our disposal it can't be decided whether both letters refer to one and the same Metropolitan or to two different ones. Prof. Pericoli Ridolfini's statements indubitably are correct inasmuch as the letters textually don't make any contributions to the solution of this question, from the historical point of view I, however, believe it to be little probable that after the conversion of the king the Patriarch is supposed to have waited for almost ten years before dispatching the first Metropolitan.

As far as Timothy's reports about the *tûptāyê* and their country are concerned, there no longer is any doubt that *tûptāyê* is a derivation of the name "Tibet".[16] One, however, must not merely think of Tibet itself, but of the entire Tibetan empire which in the 790's had reached the point of greatest expansion. Apart from the Tibetan Highland and areas of north-west China, it also at this time embraced the area around the Pamir, the southern part of the Tarim basin and, even if only for a short time, the area around the eastern T'ien-shan. The extent to which Nestorianism had spread in this vast kingdom can only be deduced from other, unfortunately very scanty sources.

2.

Examples of well-known Nestorian monuments from peripheral Tibet are the crosses which are carved into the rocks of Gilgit and Ladakh, often in the vicinity of inscriptions in various languages.

Regrettably the carvings of the crosses aren't always published in an adequate form and in most cases the deciphering of the inscriptions has yet to come. There of course are good photos of the carvings of so-called Jerusalem crosses alias potences framed by thin lines recently discovered by H.-J.Klimkeit and H.Bräker at Gilgit, to the west of the estuary of the Hunza River,[17] but as far as I know there is no decipherment of the inscriptions to be read near to the crosses. A further carving of a cross in Gilgit of which I am aware thanks to the obliging communication of its discoverer, Prof. K.Jettmar, is not published yet. Three carvings of crosses, probably of Shachukul at Drangtse (Draṅ rtse, Braṅ rtse, Tankse) in the Shayok valley in Ladakh, are merely known through copies made by the Ladakhi bZod phel on behalf of the missionary Sebastian Schmitt.[18]

There is, unfortunately, no photo but only A.H.Francke's somewhat

[16] *Dauvillier 1948*, 292; *Dauvillier 1973*, 203; and our n.120. Concerning the forms of the name "Tibet" in other languages cf. also *Bailey 1932*, 945, 947, § 4; *Bailey 1940*, 599-605; *Bailey 1942*, 924; *Hamilton 1977*, 519-520 and n.61. - I should like not to go into the question whether either the Arabic, the Sogdian or the Turkic was the immediate source of the Syriac form of the name Tibet, since I don't want to anticipate the respective study of Prof. Róna-Tas.

[17] *Klimkeit 1979a*, 103 and n.12; figs.1-2. Cf. also *Klimkeit 1979b*, 384.

[18] *Francke 1925*, pl.II, fig.2-4; cf. 370. Cf. also *Dauvillier 1948*, 294-295; *Dauvillier 1973*, 203; *Klimkeit 1979b*, 384.

sketchy drawing available of a petroglyph found at Domkhar in Lower Ladakh. The drawing shows something similar to a so-called Calvary cross i.e. of a cross on a graded pedestal and this again seems to be, through addition of a "crown" on the top transformed by later hands into a stūpa. Under the picture there is a Tibetan inscription in old orthography: *phagg̣ilo'[ ]* "[in] the Hog year".[19] Could it be substantiated that the picture and the inscription belong together (and that the picture represents a cross, in fact), then this would furnish evidence for the spread of Nestorianism among the Tibetan population. On the basis of the sketchy drawing only, however, one hardly can draw such a sweeping conclusion.

The most significant, relatively well documented and most frequently treated inscriptions and carvings of crosses are those of a rock close to the village of Drangtse. The place itself deserves attention, for it is near Drangtse where the tracks leading from Bactria, the Pamir and the western Tarim basin to India and Central Tibet meet. Inscriptions and petroglyphs are to be seen on the east, south and west side of the rock. The east side, of which two photographs have up to now been published, bears hunting scenes, images of stūpas, swastikas etc. as well as several very short inscriptions in a script which is obviously Sogdian and a short Tibetan inscription which has no interest for the topic of the present paper and which I will treat on other occasion.[20] On the south side, of which three photographs are known, one finds a large Sogdian inscription of nine line and a short one of a single word as well as three great Maltese crosses. Both the left and right crosses are supported - one by one - by stalks rising from flower-patterns; the middle cross seems to be unfinished, than it has only a stalk but no flower.[21] A similar cross with stalk but without flower is to be seen together with an inscription and two further signs on the west side of the rock.

[19] *Francke 1925*, pl.II, fig.1. Cf. also *Klimkeit 1979b*, 384.

[20] *Francke 1925*, 367-368 and pl.II with the photograph taken by Sebastian Schmitt in 1911; *Benveniste 1938*, 503-504 and pl.V with the photograph taken by G.E.Hutchinson in 1932; *Hutchinson 1939*, 173.

[21] *Francke 1914/1972*, 58-60; *Francke 1925*, 367, 369-370; *Müller 1925*, 371 and pl.III with the photograph taken by S.Schmitt in 1911; *Benveniste 1938*, 502-504 and pls. III-IV with the photograph taken by Hutchinson in 1932; *Gropp 1974*, 367, fig.219b with the photograph made by H.de Terra in 1932, the most complete photo of the inscriptions and carvings of the south side. Cf. also *Hutchinson 1939*, 172, 173; *Dauvillier 1948*, 293-294; *Lalou 1957*, 16; *Dauvillier 1973*, 203; *Petech 1977*, 12. - Concerning the interpretation of the supports of the crosses as flowers cf. the remarks in *Müller 1925*, 371, and the crosses on the Nestorian (and Manichean?) tombstones from Ch'üan-chou (Marco Polo's Çaiton), in *Enoki 1964*, pl.I, fig.2; pl. III, fig.1; cf. pp.61, 63.

Of this side only the photograph taken by Prof. G.E.Hutchinson in 1932 seems to exist. This photograph is the first time published on our pl. XVII, A, by Prof. Hutchinson's courtesy, but was already examined by Sylvain Lévi in 1933. Lévi defined the writing and the language of the inscription to be Kuchean and read *tane wewimaruśasi*, the first word meaning "here", while the remaining part could not be interpreted. Later at J.Dauvillier's request, the photograph was examined by J.Filliozat and P.Demiéville, too. Filliozat pronounced on the great difficulties in interpreting the Kuchean inscription. Demiéville identified the two signs as Chinese characters meaning "high", "exalted" and "loyal", "loyality" respectively.[21a]

Besides the crosses, the Sogdian inscriptions of the south side have the greatest interest for the present theme. Renowned specialists of Sogdian, such as F.W.K.Müller, E.Benveniste and W.B.Henning, have been involved in the interpretation and decipherement of these hardly legible inscriptions. Gerd Gropp has recently summarized their results in the form of a transliteration and translation, according to which the large inscription should mean the following: "Im Jahr 210 ... kam der Samarkander ... Nôšfarn als Botschafter zum tibetischen Khagan".[22] There are diverse opinions of the era according to which the inscription is dated. The era most frequently used by the Nestorians, the Seleucid era, of which the first year corresponds to 312 B.C., is certainly out of question.[23] Saeki was of the opinion that it was a date according to the Hiǧra, because Samarkand had been under Moslem rule since the beginning of the 8th century. Dauvillier endorsed this opinion and pointed out that the Nestorian Christians often calculated time according to the "Years of the Empire of the Arabs".[24] Henning, who was obviously unfamiliar with the works of Saeki and Dauvillier, suggested the date to be interpreted according to the Yazdgird era.[25] It is difficult to understand, however, why in Samarkand, which never had belonged to the Sāsānian Empire, a Sāsānian era was adopted while denoting a date. On the basis of the above,

[21a] *Benveniste 1938*, 503-504; *Hutchinson 1939*, 172; *Dauvillier 1948*, 294 and n.143; Professor Hutchinson, in a personal communication dated November 19, 1982.

[22] *Müller 1925*, 371-372; *Benveniste 1938*, 504-505; *Hutchinson 1939*, 172; *Henning 1958*, 54; *Gropp 1974*, 367.

[23] *Müller 1925*, 372.

[24] P.Y.Saeki, *Keikyō no kenkyū*. Tokyo 1935, 745-746 (inaccessible to me); *Dauvillier 1948*, 294 and n.145. - Even among the letters of the Patriarch Timothy I there is one dated from a "year of the Arabs"; s. *Bidawid 1956*, 37, 61, 71.

[25] *Henning 1958*, 54. Cf. also *Gropp 1974*, 367.

only the conclusion drawn by Dauvillier seems to be correct, according to which the date has to be reckoned according to the Hiǧra, i.e. year 210 means, in fact, the span of time falling between 24 April 825 and 12 April 826 A.D.[26] The inscription above the right cross, consisting of a single word, is more problematic. The suggestion that it should be read *Y(i)šaw*, "Jesus", was proposed, not without reservation, by F.W.K.Müller.[27] I am informed by Prof. Sundermann that this is a highly questionable reading; it is also questionable whether the two inscriptions belong together at all, and whether they are connected to the crosses.

However, the proximity of the crosses to the inscription of the envoy travelling from Samarkand to Tibet in the very place where the routes leading from Central Asia to India and Tibet met, is evidence that the way into the interior of Tibet stood open to Nestorian merchants.[28]

3.

Unlike non-Tibetan sources, Tibetan documents on the spread of Nestorianism and Manicheism in Tibet became known relatively late, that is to say, after the Second World War and even just in recent years. The most interesting part of these documents is a passage of the philosophical treatise *bKa' yaṅ dag pa'i tshad ma las mdo btus pa*, "Summary of the proofs for the right revelation", transmitted in the *bsTan 'gyur*.[29] The treatise was written around the last quarter of the 8th century by King Khri Sroṅ lde btsan under the guidance of his *kalyāṇamitra* Dar ma Śāntighoṣa, i.e. Śāntarakṣita[30] with the purpose of justifying the choice of

[26] *Dauvillier 1948*, 294. Cf. also *Lalou 1957*, 16; *Dauvillier 1973*, 203.

[27] *Müller 1925*, 371. Cf. *Hutchinson 1939*, 172; *Dauvillier 1948*, 293-294; *Lalou 1957*, 16; *Dauvillier 1973*, 203.

[28] A finding also counted among the archaeological monuments of Nestorianism in Ladakh is an "ancient cross of iron and bronze" with "ornaments of double spirals at the ends of its beams". This cross dug out on a hill in the vicinity of bKor rdzod at the lake mTsho mo Ri ri in Rubshu was borne by its discoverer as a neck ornament before being purchased by A.H.Francke for the British Government Collection preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in 1909. See *Francke 1914/1972*, 53-54; 113, nr.42; cf. *Dauvillier 1973*, 203. But since as far as I know there is no picture of it published yet, one can't form an opinion on this cross. - In this connection one also can point to the "bronze pendants in the shape of a cross" coming from Lhatse (Lha rtse in Western Central Tibet), preserved in the Bonardi Collection, that are according to Tucci "probably Nestorian and therefore of the Yüan period (1276-1368)"; see *Tucci 1973*, 30 (fig.29), 39, 221 (n.29).

[29] *Tibetan Tripiṭaka 144*, nr.5839, 64a4-103b6.

[30] *Tucci 1958*, 122, n.2; *Macdonald 1971*, 367 and n.594-595; *Stein 1980*, 331 and n.8; cf. also *Stein 1979*, 551.

Buddhism as the state religion with the help of logical criteria. In this text, which had been dealt with several times previously, Rolf A.Stein discovered a hitherto unnoticed criticism on Manicheism.[31] My reading and interpretation of the passage is as follows:

> (99b2) ...| *par·sig·g.yon·chen·mar·ma·ne*| *g.yon·mi·gzod·*
> (3) *pas·gtsug·lag·kun·daṅ·mi·mthunpa·gcig·bya·b⌜a'i⌝*[32]*·*
> *phyir·g⌜ts⌝ug*[33]*·lag·kun·nas·draṅs·te*| *byas·pa·lta·⌞b⌟u·*
> *ched·du·mi·mthun·par·sbyar·sbyar na*| *gtsug·lag·gźan·gyis·*
> *grub·pa'i·mtha'·yod·pa·daṅ·gyur·te*| *ma·grub·pa·la····*
> *(4) sogs·pa'o*| |...
>
> "... The great Persian heretic (lit.: liar) Mar Ma ne of insatiable heresy has borrowed (something) from all systems in order to fabricate a system deviating from all others; and while he, in accordance to what he did, arranged (the elements borrowed) quite deviating (from their original) meaning, the views held by the other systems are present and (at the same time) changed, therefore non-authentic etc. ..."

According to Stein, the passage quoted indicates rather vague knowledge of Manicheism, and the Tibetans would have acquired this knowledge from the Chinese. He points out that *Mar Ma ne* corresponded to Chinese *Mo Mo-ni*, the characteristic form of the name of the founder of Manicheism in Chinese documents of the 8th century. Stein also refers to the fact that, in an edict of Emperor Hsüan-tsung from the year 732, Manicheism was condemned for posing as Buddhism. This would correspond with the expression "the great Persian liar Mar Ma ne" in the Tibetan text. The Tibetans must have had knowledge of the edict, because, at that time, the Chinese princess Chin-ch'êng lived in Tibet as spouse of King Khri lDe gtsug brtsan, and there was lively contact between the Chinese and Tibetan courts. Stein also mentions the 老子化胡經 *Lao-tzŭ hua Hu ching*, "The Book about the Conversion of the Hu by Lao-tzŭ". This book contains a story, according to which Lao-tzŭ manifested himself as Buddha in India, and as Mo Mo-ni in Su-lin, that is, as Mār Mānī in Suristān in Persia. Stein thinks that this work probably is identical with the *Le'u tse kyaṅ* which King Khri Sroṅ lde btsan is said to have found among the

[31] *Tucci 1958*, 122-125; *Macdonald 1971*, 367-369; *Stein 1980*, 330-334.
[32] Xyl.: *bi'*.
[33] Xyl.: *gcug*.

books of his ancestors according to the *sBa bžed.*[34]

However, as Prof. Stein informs me in a letter, he considers his assertion as a hypothesis. I should now wish to be allowed to develop another hypothesis alongside this one on the source of the Tibetan king's knowledge of Manicheism, which I shall introduce with some linguistic points.

Stein already realized that *par sig* "Persian" in the Tibetan text cannot have derived from the Chinese 波斯 *Po-szŭ* (ACh. *puâ-się*[35]) "(Sāsānian) Persia, Persian"[36] and therefore he assumed that Śāntarakṣita replaced the Chinese form of the name by the Sanskrit one.[36a] The Sanskrit name for the Persians is, however, *pārasīka* or *pārasika*[37] and this would not have been transcribed in Tibetan as *par sig*. This Tibetan form can only be explained as a borrowing either from Sogdian[38] or from early Middle Persian.[39] Furthermore, the extended form *par sig pa* in the Tibetan version of Vasubandhu's Abidharmakośabhāṣya,[40] translated by Jinamitra and dPal brtsegs[41] at the beginning of the 9th century demonstrate that *par sig* was the usual Tibetan name for the Persians. From the form *par sig* we therefore are not in a position to draw any conclusions about the source of the knowledge of Manicheism.

Concerning *Mar Ma ne* the following equivalents are to be found in the various languages:

---

[34] *Stein 1980*, 334-337.

[35] *Karlgren 1957/1972*, nrs.25/1 + 869a-b.

[36] In the final analysis the Chinese name corresponds to Middle Iranian [*pārs*] "Persis", concerning this see Middle Persian of the inscriptions *p'sly* (*Gignoux 1972*, 31), Parthian of the inscriptions *p'rs* (*Gignoux 1972*, 60), Manichean Parthian *p'rs* (*Boyce 1977*, 67). It, however, needs to be elucidated why there is no equivalent of Iranian *-r-* in the Chinese form; cf. *Miller 1959*, 37, n.100. - The first occurence of the Chinese form of name we know about is in a report on Sāsānian envoys arriving at the court of the Northern Wei in October/November 455 A.D.; see *Harmatta 1971*, 136; *Ecsedy 1979a*, 228-229; *Ecsedy 1979b*, 154-155. A survey of later references up to 535 see in *Ecsedy 1979a*, 229-233; *Ecsedy 1979b*, 155-159. Concerning the development of Sāsānian-Chinese relations between 455 and 737 see *Harmatta 1971*, 136-142.

[36a] *Stein 1980*, 334-335, n.14.

[37] Further particulars in *Mayrhofer 1964*, 258.

[38] Cf. *p'rsyk* [*pārsīk*] "Persian" in the *Nāfnāmak* "List of Nations"; *Henning 1940*, 8-9; *Gershevitch 1954*, § 996.

[39] Cf. Middle Persian in Pehlevi script *p'lsyk'* (*MacKenzie 1971*, 65), Manichean Middle Persian *p'rsyg* (*Boyce 1977*, 67). The original final consonant of [pārsīg], however, was according to the communication of Prof.Harmatta merely preserved up to the 6th century whereas at the beginnings of the 7th century it already was lost.

[40] *Tibetan Tripiṭaka 115*, nr.5591, GU 234a3, b4. The reading "Par si ga pa" in *La Vallée Poussin 1924/1971*, 147, n.1, is incorrect.

[41] *Tibetan Tripiṭaka 115*, nr.5591, ṄU 109a7-8.

Mandaic *m'rm'ny'* [mār mānīā];[42] Manichean Middle Persian *m'rym'ny*,[43] *mrym'ny*[44] [mār mānī]; Manichean Parthian *m'rym'ny*, *m'ry m'ny*, *m'rmny*, *mrym'ny*, *mry m'ny* [mār mānī];[45] Sogdian in Sogdian script *m'rm'ny*[46] [mār mānī]; Manichean Turkic in Uighur script *mrm'ny* [mar mani];[47] Chinese in Manichean and Taoist texts 末摩尼 *Mo Mo-ni*[48] (ACh. muât muâ-ńi[49]) and in Buddhist texts 末曼尼 *Mo Man-ni*[50] (ACh. muât muân-ńi[51]).

According to these data, the Tibetan form of the name could have derived from a Middle Iranian language, as well as from Old Turkic. It is, however, difficult to say whether or not Chinese could have been the source of the Tibetan form because from the 7th to the 10th century, the Tibetans usually borrowed names and words from such north-western dialects of Middle Chinese where the nasal initials of Ancient Chinese remained nasal only before nasal finals. That means that the Tibetans normally would have borrowed the Chinese name of the founder of the religion in the form of **'bar 'ba 'ji* or **'bar man 'ji*.[52] However, since we sporadically encounter words and names in which Ancient Chinese initials *m* and *n* are represented by Tibetan *m* and *n*, even before a non-nasal final, we in full cannot exclude the possibility that the Tibetan form *Mar Ma ne* could have been borrowed from Chinese. Thus, also this Tibetan form of the name cannot be taken into consideration in deciding the issue.

As far as the content of the critique of Manicheism in the *bKa' yaṅ*

---

42 *Müller 1904*, 9. Cf. also *Drower/Macuch 1963*, 253, where the late corrupt form *mard mania* inconceivably is used as a headword.

43 Unpublished Turfan MS. M 277, p.2, col.i, l.13 (according to Prof.Sundermann's communication).

44 Unpublished Turfan MSS. M 271, p.1, l.7; M 273, Ro., l.22; M 5755, p.1, l.4 (according to Prof. Sundermann's communication).

45 *Müller 1904*, 47, 54, 60-61, 70 (n.2), 77; *Müller 1912b*, 18-22, 24, 26 and pls.I-II; *Andreas/Henning 1934*, 910 and the passages quoted there; *Boyce 1975*, 106, 110, 143, 161, 193.

46 Sogdian inscription of Qara-balɣasun, s. *Hansen 1930*, 17, cf. also 8.

47 *Le Coq 1919*, 10 and pl.II; *Bang 1925*, 22-23; *Gabain 1974*, 311. There moreover is a form: *mr nyw m'ny* [mar niw mani] in which the title *nyw* "Hero" (< Manichean Parthian *nyw*) is inserted, see *Le Coq 1911*, 12 and pl.II.

48 *Chavannes/Pelliot 1913*, 118, 122 (n.2), 154-155; cf. also 172 (and n.2) where the name denotes the Manichees.

49 *Karlgren 1957/1972*, nrs.277/a + 17/e + 563/a.

50 歷代法寶記 *Li-tai fa-pao chi* "Records on the Gem of the Law from various ages", ms. Pelliot Chinois 2125, ed. in *Taishō 51*, 180b3, 6. (text nr.2075).

51 *Karlgren 1957/1972*, nrs.277/a + 266/a-c + 563/a.

52 Cf. *Csongor 1960*, nrs.700 + 47 + 65, as well as pp.112-113.

dag pa'i tshad ma is concerned, we must first consider the highly syncretistic character of Manicheism. In the creation of his religion, Mani fused together Christian-gnostic ideas with Mazdaic ones (and possibly with several Buddhist ideas too) into a coherent system. When he and his disciples were spreading the new religion outside the Aramaic communities and were translating their holy books into foreign languages, they largely assimilated the terminology of their teachings to that of the local religions, Mazdaism and Buddhism, in order to, in the words of Prof. Sundermann, "be comprehensible and to lessen the impression of foreignness".[53]

As a consequence of this, Manicheism appeared to the world outside as a conglomeration of elements taken from various religions with their contextual value altered, although the inner coherence of the doctrinal system remained intact. Precisely this situation is referred to in the Tibetan treatise where we find the observation that Mar Ma-ne "has borrowed (something) from all systems" and, "in accordance to what he did, arranged (the elements borrowed) quite deviating from (their original) meaning". In extreme cases, the appropriation of Buddhist terminology reached such proportions that Manicheism gave the impression of being a perversion of Buddhism. That was the case with the 摩尼光佛教法儀略 *Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao fa i lüeh* "The compendium of the doctrines and styles of the teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light",[54] which gave occasion to the condemnation of Manicheism in the edict of 732.[55] I quote the English translation of the edict, done for me by Miss Ecsedy: "The doctrine of Mo Mo-ni represents radically heretic views; it is falsely called Buddhism, (by this) deceiving and misleading the people. It should be imposed on strict prohibition (in order) to stop it. But since it is a native doctrine of the Western Hu and other (Barbarians), (as long as) they practise it by themselves, needless to set it against them as a crime".[56]

[53] "um ... verständlich zu sein und den Eindruck der Fremdheit zu mindern"; *Sundermann 1979*, 106.

[54] British Library MS., Stein 3969 = Giles 7054. Ed. in *Taishō 54*, 1279c-1281a (text nr.2141A). Fasc., transl. and commentaries in *Haloun/Henning 1953*.

[55] *Haloun/Henning 1953*, 188, n.3. Regarding the extent of the use of Buddhist terminology in the "Compendium" see also *Asmussen 1965*, 149.

[56] 杜佑 Tu Yu, 通典 *T'ung-tien*. Text in the compilation 九通全書 *Chiu-t'ung ch'üan-shu*. Ed. 貫吾齋 Kuan-wu-chai, 1901, ch.XL, fol.37, Vo., col.3a (with a corrupt 未 *wei* instead of 末 *mo* in *Mo Mo-ni*). - Cf. the French translation in *Chavannes/Pelliot 1913*, 154.

A comparison of the Tibetan and Chinese criticism of Manicheism indicates, in my opinion, that each deals with different aspects of the religion, at the same time the Tibetan criticism, however, is more theoretical than the Chinese. It can therefore be assumed that the Tibetan court didn't merely possess vague knowledge of Manicheism from courtly, Buddhist or Taoist Chinese sources, but was to a certain extent familiar with the doctrines of this religion.

4.

The remaining two or three Tibetan documents which concern our topic come from the walled-up library of Tun-huang.

In this connection I first of all want to point out that Manichean and Nestorian texts in Chinese and a fragmentary Christian or Manichean Chinese-style painting[57] are already known for a long time past from the walled-up library. These documents indicate that Manicheism and Nestorianism were known and to a certain extent spread among the Chinese of Tun-huang in the 8^{th}-10^{th} centuries.[58]

As far as the Tibetan Tun-huang documents are concerned, Madame Macdonald discovered a paragraph in a Book of Divination adapted to Buddhism, Pelliot tibétain 351, in which the name "Jesus, the Messiah" occurs and she provided us with the first practically complete reading and translation of the paragraph omitting only one short unimportant sentence. At a later date, Prof. Stein also concerned himself with this passage, but merely translated the beginning and the end, leaving out the difficult parts.

The problem with this passage is whether it can be traced back to a Manichean or to a Nestorian source. Madame Macdonald made no comment on this problem, whereas Prof. Stein stated quite categorically: "La source

[57] British Museum, Stein Collection, nr.48; original mark: Ch.xlix 001. This painting generally is looked upon as Nestorian; many scholars even consider it to be a representation of the Good Shepherd; s. *Waley 1925*; *Waley 1931*, 81-82, nr. XLVIII; *Matsumoto 1931*; *Matsumoto 1932*; *Saeki 1951*, frontispiece (reproduction in colour); 416-417; pl. facing 408 (reconstruction by Furuyama); *Dauvillier 1948*, 311 and n.236. Just a short time ago Klimkeit (*1979a*, 105; cf. also figs.3-5) commented on the painting not only to be interpreted in Christian terms but possibly also in Manichean ones.

[58] It, however, is doubtful whether the existence of a Manichean monastery and a Nestorian temple in Sha-chou (Tun-huang) can be demonstrated on the basis of manuscripts. Concerning the interpretation of the passages quoted from the Runic Turkic divination-book in proof of the existence of a Manichean monastery, s. *Hamilton 1975*, 11-16. Concerning the problematical authenticity of the statements on a Nestorian temple from 717 and 720 made in the colophons of two Chinese Nestorian manuscripts s. *Enoki 1964*, 74-77.

est certainement un traité manichéen en chinois."[59]

In order to answer the question, the text of the paragraph must above all be examined, and for this purpose I have attempted a new transliteration and translation of the passage[60] with the valuable and stimulating support of my friend János Szerb:

> (40) [~]| |*myi·khyod·gi·rogs·ni·lha·i·śi·myi·śi·ha·żes·bya·ste*·| |*phyag·na·rdo·rje·dpal·śag*·(41) *kya·thub·pa·byed·de*·| |*gnam·rim·pa·bdun·gi·sgo·phyes·nas*·|*lha·'i·phyag·g.yas·pa'i·khrim*·(42) *pa·nas·bsnams·pa'i·rnal·'byor·du·dgrub·'oṅ·gyis*·| |*ci·bsams·rnams·ma*· (43) *mdzem·ma·'jigs·ma·skrag·bar·byos·śig*·| |*khyod·rgyal·bar·'oṅ*·|*gdon·bgegs·ci*· (44) *yaṅ·myed·te*·| |*m{y}o·'di·ci·la·btab·kyaṅ·bzaṅ·{b}rab·bo*·||
> "Maṅ, your friend is named god I śi Myi śi ha and acts as Vajrapāṇi Śrī Śākyamuni,[61] and when the doors of the heaven with seven layers will be opened, you will pursue the Yoga (= way of conduct) that you will receive from the judge at the right hand of God; and what (you) will have thought, do it without shyness, unscared, undaunted. You will become a Jina (= you will become blissful). There will be no demons of sickness and impediments. This lot, for whatever cast, is very good."

The following details from this passage deserve attention: 1) *I śi Myi śi ha*, that is, the Tibetan form of the name "Jesus, the Messiah", 2) "the judge at the right hand of God" and 3) the "heaven with seven layers".

Prof. Stein has claimed that the Tibetan form of name *I śi Myi śi ha* corresponds to the Chinese transcription of the name, pointing to the occurence of the name in the Taishō text nr.2142.[62] This claim can be supported by a survey of the forms of the name "Jesus, the Messiah". With help of Profs. Sundermann and Zieme, I have tried to put together all the forms of the name which occur in languages ranging from Nestorian Syriac to the Chinese of the Manichean, Nestorian and Buddhist texts of the T'ang period: Nestorian Syriac *yyšwʿ mšyḥʾ* [išōʿ məšīḥā]; Manichean

---

[59] *Macdonald 1971*, 285 and n.362; *Stein 1980*, 337. Cf. also *Stein 1979*, 551.

[60] My transliteration and translation is based on the facsimile in *Macdonald/Imaeda 1978*, pl.177.

[61] I regretably failed to get any information on how the composition of names *Phyag·na rdo rje Dpal Śag kya thub pa* respectively how in this connection the relation between Vajrapāṇi and Śākyamuni is to be interpreted.

[62] *Stein 1979*, 551; *Stein 1980*, 337.

Middle Persian *yyšwʿ* and *yyšw*[63] [yišō], and *mšyh’h*[64] [mašīhā]; Manichean Parthian *yyšwʿ mšyh’*,[65] *yyšwʿ mšyh’h*,[66] *yyšw mšyh’*,[67] *yyšw mšyh*[68] [yišō mašīhā]; Manichean Sogdian *yyšwʿ* and *yyšw* [yišō],[69] and *mšyh’h* [məšīχā];[70] Christian Sogdian in Syriac script *yšwʿmšyh’* [išōγ məšīχā], *yšwʿ* [išōγ] and *mšyhʳ* [məšīχā],[71] and in Sogdian script *’yšwγ* [išōγ];[72] Sogdian in Sogdian script *mš’yγ’*[məšīχā];[73] Kuchean in Manichean script *yšwʿyy* [yišwe];[74] Manichean Turkic in Manichean script *yyšw* [yišo][75] and *myšyh’* [mišiχa],[76] in Late Sogdian script *mšy q’* [m.šiχa][77] and in Uighur script *yysw msy⸤q⸥[’]* [išo m.šiχa];[78] Christian Turkic in Uighur script *mšyq’* [m.šiχa];[79] Buddhist Turkic in Uighur script *m’r mysq’* [mar mišaχa][80] and *m’r’ṇ myṣq̈’* [maran mišaχa][81] (both direct loans from Syriac);[81a] Chinese

[63] *Andreas/Henning 1933*, 361; *Sundermann 1968*, 404.

[64] Unpublished Turfan MSS. M 325, Ro., l.3; M 6230, Ro., l.10 (according to Prof.Sundermann's communication).

[65] *Waldschmidt/Lentz 1926*, 115.

[66] Unpublished Turfan MS. M 24, Ro., l.3 (according to Prof.Sundermann's communication).

[67] Unpublished Turfan Ms. M 280, fol.I, Vo., l.12 (according to Prof.Sundermann's communication); *Sundermann 1968*, 400.

[68] *Müller 1912b*, 25, 28 (l.438) and pl.I.

[69] *Gershevitch 1954*, §§ 22, 25, 38, 41.

[70] *Gershevitch 1954*, § 63.

[71] *Müller/Lentz 1934*, 588, 601.

[72] *Müller 1912a*, 84, 86, 96, pl.I.

[73] *Gershevitch 1954*, § 63.

[74] *Gabain/Winter 1958*, 34-35; cf. also 39.

[75] *Gabain/Winter 1958*, 15. Since there is no facsimile the transliteration of the form of the name can merely be given on the basis of the transcription. The text, however, actually contains a complete form: "yišu ạryaman" "Jesus, the friend" a borrowing from Manichean Middle Persian *yyšwʿ ’ry’m’n* in which *’ry’m’n* renders Syriac *mšyh’*; cf. *Sundermann 1979*, 103 and n.246.

[76] Unpublished and missing Turfan MS. TM 510, Ro., l.8 (according to Prof.Zieme's communication; cf. also *Tezcan 1974*, 71, n.1019-1020; *Zieme 1975*, 25, n.76).

[77] *Le Coq 1922*, 11. I myself relate to the exact reading communicated by Prof.Zieme.

[78] *Zieme 1975*, 25, 81, 91 and pl.V.

[79] *Müller 1908*, 6-7 and pl.I-II; cf. *Bang 1926*, 44-46.

[80] *Tezcan 1974*, 71 (and n.1019-1020), 92 and pl.LXIII, l.1019.

[81] *Arat 1965*, 114-115 (with an incorrect reading), 463 (facsimile); *Tezcan 1974*, 71-72, n.1019-1020 (with the correct reading).

[81a] Besides the data contained in the Manichean, Christian and Buddhist Turkic (Uighur) Turfan texts cited above, Prof.G.Kara kindly called my attention upon two more pertinent data of non-Turfan origin: Qoman *misiha* [mišiχa] in the *Codex Cumanicus*, fol. 69, Vo., l.3 (facs.: *Grønbech 1936*, pl.[138]; cf. *Grønbech 1942*, 277), and Mongolian *mysyq’* [mišiqa] in the letter of the Il-qan Arγun written in 1290 to Pope Nicholas IV, ll.4, 6, 8, 22 (facs.: *Mostaert/Cleaves 1952*, pl.II; cf. 450-451, 453; cf. also *Ligeti 1972*, 248-249).

in Manichean texts 夷數 *I-shu*[82] (ACh. i-ṣi̯u[83]), in Nestorian texts 移鼠迷師訶 *I-shu Mi-shih-ho*[84] (ACh. ie̯-śi̯wo miei-ṣi-χâ[85]), 翳數弥 (or 彌)[86] 師訶 *I-shu Mi-shih-ho*[87] (ACh. ˚iei-ṣi̯u mjie̯-ṣi-χâ[88]), 移鼠 *I-shu*[89] (ACh. ie̯-śi̯wo[85]), 翳數 *I-shu*[90] (ACh. ˚iei-ṣi̯u[88]), 弥 (or 彌)[86] 師訶 *Mi-shih-ho*[91] (ACh. mjie̯-ṣi-χâ[92]), 弥 (or 彌) 施訶 *Mi-shih-ho*[93] (ACh. mjie̯-śie̯-χâ[94]), and in Buddhist texts 彌師訶 *Mi-shih-ho*[95] (ACh.

[82] *Chavannes/Pelliot 1911*, 566 and n.3; 602, 1.7; *Taishō 54*, 1284a 17 (text nr.2141B); *Waldschmidt/Lentz 1926*, 12-13, 29, 99, 102-103, 110.

[83] *Karlgren 1957/1972*, nrs.551/a-c + 123/r.

[84] 序聽迷詩所經 *Hsü-t'ing mi-shih-so ching* (problematical title), Takakusu MS., 1.124. Ed.: *Taishō 54*, 1287c11-12 (text nr.2142); *Saeki 1951*, 25*, 1.4; *Haneda 1958*, 246. Cf. also *Moule 1930/1077*, 61; *Saeki 1951*, 44, 120-121, 141 and 157, n.24; *Haneda 1958*, 262-263.

[85] *Karlgren 1957/1972*, nrs.3/q + 92/a + 598/e + 559/a-e + 1/k-l.

[86] 弥 and 彌 are considered as variants of one and the same character. In the manuscripts I as far as I could inspect reproductions of originals always found the first variant whereas modern editions in most cases replace it by the second variant looked upon as the main form.

[87] 一神論 *I-shên lun* "Treatise on the One God", Tomeoka MS., pt.III, 1.157-158. Ed.: *Saeki 1951*, p.66*, 11.7-8; cf. also 119-121, 226, 246.

[88] *Karlgren 1957/1972*, nrs.589/f + 123/r + 359/m-n + 559/a-e + 1/k-l.

[89] *Hsü-t'ing mi-shih-so ching*, 1.121. Ed. *Taishō 54*, 1287c8; *Saeki 1951*, 25*, 1.1; *Haneda 1958*, 246. Cf. also *Moule 1930/1977*, 61; *Saeki 1951*, 140.

[90] *I-shên lun*, pt.III, 1.8. Facs. and ed.: *Saeki 1951*, pl. facing p.206; 51*, 1.8. Cf. also *Haneda 1958*, 237-239; *Saeki 1951*, 207.

[91] *Hsü-t'ing mi-shih-so ching*, 11.2, 127, 130 etc. Facs.: *Saeki 1951*, pl. facing p.124, 1.2; *Moule 1930/1977*, 63. Ed.: *Taishō 54*, 1286b2, 1287c15 etc.; *Saeki 1951*, 13*, 1.2; 25*, 1.7, 10 etc.; *Haneda 1958*, 242, 246-248. Cf. also *Moule 1930/1977*, 59, 61, 62, 64; *Saeki 1951*, 120, 125, 141ff.; *Haneda 1958*, 262. - *I-shên lun*, pt.III, 11.44, 62, 71, 78 etc. Facs. and ed.: *Saeki 1951*, pl. facing p.206; 55*, 1.4; 57*, 1.2; 58*, 11.1, 8 etc. Cf. also 119, 211ff.; *Haneda 1958*, 262.

[92] *Karlgren 1957/1972*, nrs.359/m-n + 559/a-e + 1/k-l.

[93] 志玄安樂經 *Chih-hsüan an-lo ching* "Scripture on Mystic Paradise", Li Shêng-to MS., 11.8, 52, 60 etc. Partial facsimile: *Enoki 1964*, pl.VI. 11.8, 155. Ed.: *Saeki 1951*, 77*, 1.8: 83*, 11.2, 10 etc.; *Haneda 1958*, 274, 276-277 etc. Cf. also *Saeki 1951*, 119-120, 258, 282 etc. - The inscription of Hsi-an-fu, main part, 1.6, characters 24-26. Facs.: *Heller 1897* and *1898*, pl.[2], 1.6; *Havret 1895*, pl.XXIII, 1.1. Ed. *Saeki 1951*, 2*, 1.3-4. Cf. also *Heller 1897*, 30 = *1898*, 462; *Moule 1930/1977*, 36; *Saeki 1951*, 43-44, 54. - 大秦景教三威蒙度讚 *Ta-Ch'in ching--chiao san-wei mêng-tu tsan* "The Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion's Eulogy of the Trinity for Obtaining Salvation" (the so-called Tun-huang Gloria in Excelsis Deo), MS. Pelliot chinois 3847, text I, 11.12, 21. Facs. and ed.: *Moule 1930/1977*, pl. facing p. 53; *Saeki 1951*, pl. facing p.266; 72*, 1.2; 73*, 1.1; *Taishō 54*, 1288b13, 22 (text nr.2143 [A]). Cf. also *Moule 1930/1977*, 54-55; *Saeki 1951*, 267-268. - 尊經 *Tsun-ching* "Sacred Scriptures", MS. Pelliot chinois 3847, text II, 11.2, 17. Facs. and ed. *Moule 1930/1977*, pl. facing p.53; *Saeki 1951*, pl. facing p.272; 74*, 1.2; 75*, 1.7; *Taishō 54*, 1288b26, c18 (text nr.2143 [B]). Cf. also *Moule 1930/1977*, 55-56; *Saeki 1951*, 273, 275.

[94] *Karlgren 1957/1972*, nrs.359/m-n + 4/l' + 1/k-l.

[95] *Li-tai fa-pao chi* ed. in *Taishō 51*, 180b3, 6, 10.

mjie̯-ṣi-χâ[92]) and 彌尸訶 *Mi-shih-ho*[96] (ACh. mjie̯-śi-χâ[97]).

From this list we can determine that the vocalisation of the second syllable *śi* in the Tibetan *I śi Myi śi ha* can neither be derived from Nestorian Syriac nor from a Middle Iranian language nor from Old Turkic. For historical reasons it is not very likely that the Tibetan borrowed the name from the Kuchean. Of the Chinese variants of the name, those with 夷數 ACh. i-ṣi̯u and 翳數 ACh. ˙iei-ṣi̯u are out of question, since ACh. ṣi̯u always is represented in Tibetan as *śu* or *śo*.[98] In Tibetan ACh. śi̯wo, however, usually is represented as *śi*.[99] Consequently, the Tibetan form can only have derived from the Chinese form 移鼠迷師訶, ACh. i̯e-śi̯wo miei-ṣi-χâ, attested in the *Hsü-t'ing mi-shih-so ching* discovered in Tun-huang, that is, in fact, the form in the Taishō text no.2142. Yet this text is as far as I know unanimously and I believe rightly categorized in the literature as a Nestorian work.

The expression "judge at the right hand of God" will evoke in the mind of anyone familiar with Christian doctrine the words of Jesus in the *Gospel of Matthew*, chapter 26 verse 64: "But I tell you this: from now on, you will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of God (literally: of the Power) and coming on the clouds of heaven",[100] and also the corresponding passages of the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds. Of the variants of the Apostles' Creed I cite the so-called Old Roman Creed: "I believe in God, (the) Father Almighty; And in Christ Jesus, His only Son, our Lord, ... He ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father, thence He shall come to judge living and dead".[101] The most important to our topic, however, is the Nicene Creed, especially its Nestorian version. Of this version there also is a Sogdian translation of which a fragmentary manuscript from the 9th-10th centuries was found and that in the ruins of a Christian temple near Bulayïq in the Turfan area.

---

96 圓照 Yüan-chao, 大唐貞元續開元釋教錄 *Ta-T'ang Chên-yüan hsü K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu* "A Record on Buddhist Doctrines Took up in the K'ai-yüan Period, Continued in the Chên-yüan Period of the Great T'ang" (compiled 795 A.D.) chap.I, ed. *Taishō 55*, 756a27 (text nr.2156). Cf. *Saeki 1951*, 470. - Yüan-chao, 貞元新定釋教目錄 *Chên-yüan hsin-ting shih-chiao mu-lu* "A Catalogue of Buddhist Doctrines Newly Arranged in the Chên-yüan Period" (compiled 800 A.D.), chap.XVII, ed. *Taishō 55*, 892a14 (text nr. 2157). Cf. *Heller 1897*, 62, n.11 = *1898*, 494, n.11; *Havret 1902*, 6; *Moule 1930/1977*, 69 and n.82; *Saeki 1951*, 119-120, 251-252, 464.

97 *Karlgren 1957/1972*, nrs.359/m-n + 561/a-b + 1/k-l.

98 Cf. *Csongor 1960*, nr.629.

99 Cf. *Csongor 1960*, nrs.616-617.

100 *New Testament 1970*, 51 and n.[*b*].

101 *Burn 1911*, 237.

I quote from F.W.K.Müller's German translation: "Wir glauben an einen Gott, den Vater, den alles Haltenden, ... An einen Herrn, Gott, Jesum (Christum), Gottes Sohn, ... er, welcher ... (aufgefahren) ist zum Himmel hin und sitzet zu seines Vaters Rechten, und wiederum bereit ist zu kommen, zu richten, zu den Toten und Lebendigen ..."[102]

Jesus on the right hand of God, however, also is known in the Manichean tradition. 13 years ago, Prof. Sundermann published a Parthian fragment which contains the passage of Matthew just referred to and which he defined as a Manichean version of Tatian's harmonisation of the gospels, *Diatessaron*.[103] Since then Prof. Sundermann has made some discoveries concerning this fragment. He has written to me as follows: "Meine Charakterisierung als Diatessaron-*Version* war eine Übertreibung. Man kann höchstens sagen, daß die Manichäer der Evangelienharmonie offenbar gefolgt sind. In meiner im Druck befindlichen Edition habe ich die Stelle erneut behandelt und nun dank Auffindung spiegelschriftlicher Abbildungen auf einem anderen Fragment mehr lesen können. Es zeigt sich nunmehr, daß auch für die Manichäer die Überlieferung einen eschatologischen Aspekt hatte: 'Aber von nun an werdet ihr sehn den Menschensohn, wie er sitzet zur Rechten der göttlichen Kraft, wenn er im Wagen (nämlich des Mondes) vom Himmel kommt,' und zwar zum Jüngsten Gericht. Wen verstanden die Manichäer unter der 'göttlichen Kraft'? Ich vermute, den Urmenschen [des manichäischen Mythos - G.U.], der auch im Mond seinen Platz hat."

With regard to the seven heavens we have evidence that there was belief in it in Tibet as in many other areas of Asia, too. Since it is mentioned in our passage in connection with Jesus, we must consider to what extent the concept of the seven heavens was known in Christianity as well as in Manicheism. The oldest proof comes from some Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, written between the 2nd century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D., namely in the so-called *Slavonic Book of Enoch* (alias the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*), the *Testament of Levi* in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Vision of Isaiah*, and the *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch*. According to these texts, the seventh heaven is the highest where, on the "throne of Glory", the "Highest One" is seated.[104] This notion was not only widespread among the Jews, but also among the early Christians who held the Pseudepigrapha in high esteem until the 4th to 8th century.

---

[102] *Müller 1912a*, 86-87, cf. 84-85 and pls. I-II. Cf. also *Baumstark 1915*, 128. Concerning the age of the finds of Christian manuscripts in Bulayïq s. *Sachau 1905*, 966.

[103] *Sundermann 1968*, 390-394; cf. 389-390, 399. Cf. also *Boyce 1975*, 129-130.

[104] *Kautzsch 1900*, 120-121, 218 (n.a), 446, 450 (n.a), 465-466. *Charles 1913*, 155, 304-306, 432-442 and esp. 530-531. - It has to be noted that in one of the MSS. of the

The Manicheans believed in ten heavens,[105] but as Prof. Sundermann referring to Henning's edition and explanation of a Sogdian text[106] informs me, the concept of seven heavens was not unknown to them; the lower seven were regarded as a special unity ruled over by the 'rex honoris'.

In the paragraph of the Book of Divination Pelliot tibêtain 351 there are three motifs known to Christians as well as to Manicheans; namely Jesus, the Messiah, the judge on the right hand of God and the seven heavens. The text, however, contains nothing specifically Manichean. In contrast to this the fact that the seven heavens are joined with Jesus on the right hand of God (and not with the 'rex honoris') is indicative of Christian origin of the passage as well as the form of the name of Jesus, in the light of present knowledge, only can have come from a Chinese Nestorian work.

On the basis of these criteria, I am of the opinion that the treated paragraph from the Book of Divination Pelliot tibêtain 351 represents a passage of a Nestorian text which superficially had been assimilated to Buddhism. It is reserved to future investigations to clarify whether or not other paragraphs of this Book of Divination likewise contain traces of Christian concepts. In these investigations, however, the Christian Turkic text from Bulayïq which is represented by the fragments T II B 1, T II B 62/512 (U 5179) and T II B 62 (U 187a),[107] also should be included. Item no.19 of this text seems to exhibit certain similarities, however very vague ones, to the Tibetan text we have been dealing with. Let me quote from W.Bang's translation of the Old Turkic text: "19.Befehl (Gebot). Ungünstig ist er. So spricht der Apostel Lukas: Du Menschen-Sohn, wasch Deine Hände rein! Habe keine Furcht vor dem Bösen (sondern bekämpfe es tapfer)! Halt Deine Gedanken rein! Alles was Dir Deine Liebe zu Gott eingiebt [sic!] , das tue vollständig! Wenn (Du es nicht) vollständig (tust) ...".[108] If, as a result of these investigations, a relationship

---

Slavonic Book of Énoch a tenth heaven is mentioned in addition, after the seventh (*Charles 1913*, 442); this tenth heaven, however, is not only unknown in the other Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, the way of mentioning it in the MS in question seems to be rather accidental; while the first seven heavens are individually described, no mention ever is made of an eight and a ninth either. This problem, however, falls within the competence of the specialists in the Apocrypha.

[105] *Chavannes/Pelliot 1911*, 514-516, esp. 515, n.1; *Pelliot 1914*, 464 and n.3; *Asmussen 1965*, 171, 194 and esp. 215.

[106] *Henning 1948*, 312-313, esp. 313, n.6.

[107] Ed. and translation of the fragment T II B 1 see *Le Coq 1909*, 1205-1208; *Bang 1926*, 53-64 and pls. [2-3]. Ed. and translation of the fragments T II B 62/512 (U 5179) and T II B 62 (U 187a) see *Zieme 1977*, 271-272 and pls. XIII-XIV.

[108] *Bang 1926*, 54-55.

were shown to exist between the Tibetan book of divination and the Old Turkic text, it then perhaps could be decided whether, as W.Bang and A. von Gabain claim, the Old Turkic text in fact is a book of divination[109] or as recently supposed by Anthony Arlotto a collection of apocryphal sayings.[110]

A further interesting document from Tun-huang is the fragment Pelliot tibêtain 1182, which reveals writing exercises on both of its sides and on one side, the "recto", even shows a drawing of a cross (see pl. XVIII). The limbs of the cross are equal in length and on the end of each limb little crosses are to be found; the whole cross itself is framed by a thin line and the end of the lower limb of the right little cross is the starting-point of a rather irregular spiral. Marcelle Lalou discovered this cross and not only registered it in the *Inventaire des manuscrits tibêtains de Touen-houang*[111] but also communicated its occurrence to Jean Dauvillier, together with whom she examined it. They defined it as "une croix de type sassanide" and were in conformity with Pelliot of the opinion that it is a Christian monument from a local Tibetan copying office. But later on when Lalou was working on the Tun-huang manuscripts of the large *Prajñāpāramitā* texts, she discovered that there were manuscripts among them which had been brought in from Tibet. From this she concluded that the cross could already have been inscribed into the document before it reached Kan-su.[112] As far as I am concerned I do not consider Lalou's later assumption very likely, as the page only contains exercises of writing and the cross due to the rough, irregular and hasty manner in which it is drawn also appears to be no more than an exercise of drawing. It is furthermore quite improbable that papers covered with exercises of writing and drawing should have been brought from Tibet to Tun-huang. I therefore agree with the earlier claim of Lalou and Dauvillier according to which the cross came from the hand of a Tibetan scribe of Tun-huang.[113]

I finally should like to refer to a small figure which up to now

---

[109] *Bang 1926*, 55; *Bang/Gabain 1929a*, 241; *Gabain 1964*, 216. Cf. also *Hage 1976*, 119-120.

[110] *Arlotto 1971*, 693-696.

[111] *Lalou 1950*, 77.

[112] *Dauvillier 1948*, 292-293 and n.139; *Lalou 1957*, 16; *Dauvillier 1973*, 203.

[113] It is remarkable that the drawing of the cross of MS. Pelliot tibêtain 1182 is in the same way framed by a thin line as the carvings of crosses discovered by Klimkeit and Bräker at Gilgit are. It should be left to art historians to answer the question whether the manner of representation of the crosses from Tun-huang and Gilgit in spite of the different forms of the crosses are related to each other.

only has been listed in Lalou's *Inventaire*.[114] It is to be found at the top of one sheet of a fragmentary large [*Śatasāhasrikā*]*prajñāpāramitā* roll, in Pelliot tibêtain 1676, and represents a silhouette of a Greek cross of which the limbs are equal in lenght and breadth (see pl.XVII, B). Yet in this connection the question arises whether it rather is a Buddhist than a Christian or Manichean symbol since similar forms of crosses also occur in the Buddhist iconography. Thus Klimkeit recently drew attention to the crosses appearing in the representation of paradises of some of the five Tathāgatas found in the gSum brtsegs of A lci, Upper Ladakh, which he interpreted as Manichean crosses of light respectively of beams replacing the *vajra* and the moon.[115] In contrast to this the crosses in the wall-paintings from Bäzäklik in the Turfan area are supposed to represent the *cintāmaṇi*.[116]

Examining the age of the three discussed Tun-huang documents it above all is to keep in mind that the use of the Tibetan language was not confined to the period of Tibetan rule in Tun-huang, that is, from 781 or 787 to 848, as one might be inclined to think but continued to be in use up to the end of the 10th century or even until the library was walled up.[117] This fact particularly is of consequence to the determination of the age of the Book of Divination Pelliot tibêtain 351 since I up to now could not find anything serving as a chronologic criterion, hence the book for the time being only can be dated within the long period from 781 or 787 to the first decades of the 11th century. The exercises of writing and drawing in Pelliot tibêtain 1182, Ro., however, seem to go back to the time of Tibetan rule since they contain titles such as *naṅ rje po* "lord of inner (affairs)" and *źaṅ lon ched pho* "great uncle-councillor"[118] merely used in the administration of the Tibetan Empire. Ultimately regarding the manuscript 1676 it is in the nature of things that not the long text of the *Prajñāpāramitā* was written on the reverse of exercises of writing but vice versa. As the exercises of writing contain titles and names of Tibetan functionaries[119] it is very likely to presume that the *Prajñāpāramitā*-text was copied during the Tibetan reign. Yet the drawing of the cross has not to be of the same age as the text but could have been attached to it much later, too.

[114] *Lalou 1961*, 123.

[115] *Klimkeit 1979a*, 108-109 and figs.8-10; *Klimkeit 1979b*, 376-378, 384-386, figs.3-5.

[116] *Klimkeit 1979a*, 106-108 and fig.7b.

[117] *Uray 1981*, esp. 89.

[118] *Lalou 1950*, 77.

[119] *Lalou 1961*, 123.

5.

Since the beginning of this century, when Patriarch Timothy's reports on Nestorianism became known, there are many diverse opinions concerning the extent of the spread of Nestorianism in Tibet. Initially many scholars attempted to deny that Timothy's letters actually referred to Tibet.[120] But today, as already shown, we merely have a few proofs, from different sources, of the more or less continous contact Tibet or the Tibetans have had with Nestorianism demonstrably since the early 790'ies at the latest. Besides, we recently have acquired genuine evidence that in the last quarter of the 8th century the Tibetan Royal Court has been familiar with the doctrines of Manicheism.

In order to properly judge the contact Tibet has had with Manicheism and Nestorianism, we must consider its situation at the end of the 8th century. Tibet, at that time, has been a great power taking part in transcontinental trade and controlling some of the most important trade routes. On these routes there were settlements of Sogdian merchants of Nestorian and Manichean faith who here and there could spread their doctrines even among the indigenous population. As is borne witness to by the Sogdian inscription at Draṅ-tse, Sogdian merchants found their way into the interior of Tibet and presumably also established trade colonies there. Even if the Nestorian communities living in these colonies were small, the geographical position of the roads demanded the establishment of several episcopates which then made the setting up of a Metropolity essential.

One also must take into consideration that in the second half of the 8th century, society in Tibet had reached a stage in development where it was necessary to adopt a world religion as state religion. This, as we know, became the role of Buddhism, but it can be assumed that Nestorianism and Manicheism tried their luck, too.

[120] Braun (*1901*, 311, n.1) proposed to read the name as *bêṯ tûḥrāyê* "Toḫāristān", at a time he merely could be aware of the *bêṯ tûptāyê* of the letter XLVII to Sergius; cf. *Dauvillier 1948*, 292, n.134. Yet three years later, on the basis of the occurence of *tûptāyê* in the letter XLI to the Maronites, Labourt (*1904*, 45-46) could refute this emendation and identified *bêṯ tûptāyê* with Tibet. Sachau (*1919*, 20 and n.1) nevertheless considered it to be improbable that Tibet is meant and rather thought of the Turkic tribe of the Tubbat mentioned by al-Masʿūdī (not realizing that actually Tibet shelters behind the Turkic tribe). Sachau probably had the conventional conception of "Tibet the forbidden country" in mind whereas he ignored the historical part Tibet played in the 7th-9th centuries; cf. the critical remarks in *Messina 1947*, 78-79, n.41. In the meantime Syriac *tûptāyê* also was found in a passage of the *Gannat Bûssāmê* "Garden of Pleasures", coming from the 8th-10th centuries, in a context making it quite plain that *tûptāyê* signifies the Tibetans; see *Vosté 1938*, 115, Syriac text, 1.18; 117 and n.4; Cf.*Dauvillier 1948*, 292, n.135. Concerning the age of the passage see *Vosté 1933*, 82; *Vosté 1938*, 113-115.

Bibliography

Andreas/Henning 1933 F.C.Andreas, Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II. Aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von Walter Henning. *SPAW* 1933, 294-363; 1 pl.

Andreas/Henning 1934 F.C.Andreas, Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan III. Aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von W. Henning. *SPAW* 1934, 848-912

R.R.Arat (1965), *Eski Türk Şiiri.* Ankara

A.Arlotto (1971), Old Turkic Oracle Books. *Monumenta Serica 29*, 1970-1971, 685-696

Jes P.Asmussen (1965), *X^{u}āstvānīft: Studies in Manichaeism.* Copenhagen

W.Bang (1925), Manichaeische Hymnen. *Le Muséon 38*, 1-55; 1 pl.

-- (1926), Türkische Bruchstücke einer nestorianischen Georgspassion. *Le Muséon 39*, 41-75; [v] pls.

W.Bang/A.von Gabain (1929a), Türkische Turfan-Texte I: Bruchstücke eines Wahrsagebuches. *SPAW*, 241-268 + pls. III-IV

-- (1929b), Türkische Turfan-Texte II: Manichaica. *SPAW*, 411-430 + pls. V-VI

A.Baumstark (1915), Neue soghdisch-nestorianische Bruchstücke. *OC N.S.4*, 123-128

H.W.Bailey (1932), Iranian Studies [I]. *BSOS 6:4*, 945-955

-- (1940), Ttāguttà. *BSOAS 10:3*, 599-605

-- (1942), Hvatanica IV. *BSOAS 10:4*, 886-924

E.Benveniste (1938), Notes sogdiennes [IV]. *BSOS 9:3*, 495-519

R.J.Bidawid (1956), *Les lettres du patriarche nestorien Timothée I.* Città del Vaticano

M.Boyce (1975), *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian.* Téhéran/Liège

-- (1977), *A Word-List of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian.* Téhéran/Liège

O.Braun (1901), Ein Brief des Katholikos Timotheos I über biblische Studien des 9.Jahrhunderts. *OC 1*, 299-313

A.E.Burn (1911), Creeds (Ecumenical). In: James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclo-*

paedia of Religion and Ethics 4. Edinburgh/New York, 237-242

R.H.Charles (1913) (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English 2.* Oxford

Éd.Chavannes/P.Pelliot (1911), Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, traduit et annoté. *JA X:18*, 499-617

-- (1913), Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, traduit et annoté. (Deuxième partie.) *JA XI:1*, 99-199 + 261-394; II pls.

B.Csongor (1960), Some Chinese Texts in Tibetan Script from Tun-huang, *AOH 10*, 97-140

K.Czeglédy (1954), Monographs on Syriac and Muhammadan Sources in the Literary Remains of M.Kmoskó, *AOH 4*, 19-91

J.Dauvillier (1948), Les Provinces Chaldéennes "de l'Extérieur" au Moyen Age. *Mélanges offerts au R.P.Ferdinand Cavallera, à l'occasion de la quarantième année de son professorat à l'Institut Catholique.* Toulouse, 261-316

Dauvillier 1973 Additions signed with (J.D.) in *Recherches sur les chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient.* (Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot.) Paris, passim

E.S.Drower/R.Macuch (1963), *A Mandaic Dictionary.* Oxford

I.Ecsedy (1979a), Early Persian Envoys in the Chinese Courts (5^{th}-6^{th} Centuries A.D.). *AAntH 25*, 1977, 227-236

-- (1979b), Early Persian Envoys in the Chinese Courts (5^{th}-6^{th} Centuries A.D.). *Studies in the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central-Asia.* Budapest, 153-162

K.Enoki (1964), The Nestorian Christianism in China in Mediaeval Time According to Recent Historical and Archaeological Researches. *Atti del Convegno internazionale sul tema: L'Oriente Cristiano nella storia della civiltà.* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei 361:62.) Roma, 45-81; IX pls., II maps

A.H.Francke (1914/1972), *Antiquities of Indian Tibet 1.* (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series 38.) [Repr. of the ed. Calcutta 1914.] New Delhi [1972]

-- (1925), Felseninschriften in Ladakh. *SPAW*, 366-370; pl. II

A.von Gabain (1950), Steppe und Stadt im Leben der ältesten Türken. *Der Islam 29*, 30-62

A.von Gabain (1964), Die alttürkische Literatur. Pertev Naili Boratav (ed.), *Philologiae Turcicae fundamenta 2*. Aquis Mattiacis, 211-243

-- (1974), *Alttürkische Grammatik*. 3.Aufl., Wiesbaden

A.von Gabain/W.Winter (1958), *Türkische Turfantexte 9*. (Abh. d. Dt. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin. Klasse f. Sprachen, Lit. u. Kunst 1956:2.) Berlin

I.Gershevitch (1954), *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*. Oxford

Ph.Gignoux (1972), *Glossaire des Inscriptions Pehlevies et Parthes*. London

K.Grønbech (1936), *Codex Cumanicus: Cod. Marc.Lat. DXLIX in Faksimile herausgegeben mit einer Einleitung*. Kopenhagen

-- (1942), *Komanisches Wörterbuch: Türkischer Wortindex zu Codex Cumanicus*. Kopenhagen

G.Gropp (1974), *Archäologische Funde aus Khotan, Chinesisch-Ostturkestan*. Bremen

W.Hage (1976), Christentum und Schamanismus. B.Jaspert/R.Mohr (eds.), *Traditio-Krisis-Renovatio aus theologischer Sicht: Festschrift Winfried Zeller zum 65.Geburtstag*. Marburg, 114-124

G.Haloun/W.B.Henning (1953), The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light. *Asia Major [N. S.] 3*, 184-212; IV pls.

J.Hamilton (1975), Le colophon de l'i̊rq bitig. *Turcica 7*, 7-19

-- (1977), Nasales instables en turc khotanais du X^{e} siècle. *BSOAS 40*, 508-521

Haneda 1958 *Haneda hakushi shigaku ronbunshū, gekan/Recueil des oeuvres posthumes de Tôru Haneda 2*. Kyôto

O.Hansen (1930), Zur soghdischen Inschrift auf dem dreisprachigen Denkmal von Karabalgasun. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 44:3*

J.Harmatta (1971), Sino-Iranica. *AAntH 19*, 113-147

H.Havret (1895), *La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou I*. Chang-hai

-- (1902), *La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou III*. Chang-hai

Joh.Ev.Heller (1897), *Das nestorianische Denkmal in Singan fu*.Separatabdruck des Aufsatzes *Heller 1898*. Budapest

Joh.Ev.Heller (1898), Das nestorianische Denkmal in Singan fu. *Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Reise des Grafen Béla Széchenyi in Ostasien 1877-1880 II.* Wien, 431-494; [2] pls.

W.B.Henning (1940), *Sogdica.* London

-- (1948), A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony. *BSOAS 12:2*, 306-318

-- (1958), Mitteliranisch. B.Spuler (ed.), *Handbuch der Orientalistik I:4:1.* Leiden/Köln, 20-130

G.Evelyn Hutchinson (1939), Ecological Observations on the Fishes of Kashmir and Indian Tibet, *Ecological Monographs 9*, 145-182

B.Karlgren (1957/1972), *Grammata Serica recensa.* [Reprint of the ed. Stockholm 1957.] Stockholm 1972

E.Kautzsch (1900) (ed.), *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments 2.* Tübingen/Freiburg i.B./Leipzig

H.-J.Klimkeit (1979a), Das Kreuzessymbol in der zentralasiatischen Religionsbegegnung. *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte 31*, 99-115; [8] Taf.

-- (1979b), Vairocana und das Lichtkreuz: Manichäische Elemente in der Kunst von Alchi (West-Tibet). *Zentralasiatische Studien 13*, 357-399

L.de La Vallée Poussin (1924/1971), *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu 3.* [Reprint of the ed. Paris/Louvain 1924.] Bruxelles 1971

H.Labourt (1904), *De Timotheo I Nestorianorum patriarcha (728-823) et Christianorum orientalium condicione* [sic!] *sub chaliphis Abbasidis.* Parisiis

M.Lalou (1950), *Inventaire des Manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds Pelliot tibétain) 2.* [Paris]

-- (1957), *Les religions du Tibet.* Paris

-- (1961), *Inventaire des Manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds Pelliot tibétain) 3.* [Paris]

A.von Le Coq (1909), Ein christliches und ein manichäisches Manuskriptfragment in türkischer Sprache aus Turfan (Chinesisch-Turkistan). *SPAW*, 1202-1218; pls. XIII-XIV

A.von Le Coq (1911), *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho I.* (APAW 1911, Phil.-hist. Cl., Anhang 6.) Berlin

-- (1919), *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho II.* (APAW 1919, Phil.-hist. Kl.3.) Berlin

-- (1922), *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho 3. Nebst einem christlichen Bruchstück aus Bulayïq.* (APAW 1922, Phil.-hist. Kl.2.) Berlin

L.Ligeti (1972), *Monuments préclassiques 1.* (Monumenta linguae Mongolicae collecta II.) Budapest

A.Macdonald (1971), Une lecture des Pelliot tibêtain 1286, 1287, 1038, 1047, et 1290: Essai sur la formation et l'emploi des mythes politiques dans la religion royale de Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po. *Études tibêtaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou.* Paris, 190-391

Macdonald/Imaeda 1978 Mission Paul Pelliot. *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale complété par quelques manuscrits de l'India Office et du British Museum* présentés par A.Macdonald et Y.Imaeda *1.* Paris

D.N.MacKenzie (1971), *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary.* London

C.Mackerras (1972), *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories.* Canberra

U.Marazzi (1979), Alcuni problemi relativi alla diffusione del manicheismo presso i Turchi nei secoli VIII-IX. *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli 39*, 239-252

E.Matsumoto (1931), Tokushu naru Tonkō-ga: keikyō jinbutsuzu (jō) / On a Nestorian Figure-Painting from Tun-huang (I). *Kokka 493*, 364-370; summary, [1]

-- (1932), Tokushu naru Tonkō-ga: keikyō jinbutzuzu (ge) / On a Nestorian Figure-Painting from Tun-huang (II). *Kokka 496*, 72-83; summary, [1]

M.Mayrhofer (1964), *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen/A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary 2.* Heidelberg

G.Messina (1947), *Cristianesimo, buddhismo, manicheismo nell'Asia antica.* Roma

A.Mingana (1925), *The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and*

the Far East. (Reprinted, with Additions, from "The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library", Vol.9, No.2 July, 1925.) Manchester

R.A.Miller (1959), *Accounts of Western Nations in the History of the Northern Chou Dynasty.* Berkely/Los Angeles

A.C.Moule (1930/1977), *Christians in China before the Year 1550.* [Reprint of the ed. London 1930.] New York 1977

A.Mostaert/F.W.Cleaves (1952), Trois documents mongols des Archives Secrêtes Vaticanes. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 15*, 419-506; VIII pls.

F.W.K.Müller (1904), *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan, II.* (APAW 1904, Anhang, Phil.-hist. Abh. nicht zur Akad. gehör. Gelehrter 2.) Berlin

-- (1908), *Uigurica [I].* (APAW 1908, Phil.-hist. Cl.2.) Berlin

-- (1912a), *Soghdische Texte I.* (APAW 1912, Phil.-hist. Cl.2.) Berlin

-- (1912b), *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag).* (APAW 1912, Philos.-hist. Cl.5.) Berlin

-- (1925), Eine soghdische Inschrift in Ladakh. *SPAW*, 371-372; pl.III

Müller/Lentz 1934 F.W.K.Müller, Soghdische Texte II. Aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von W.Lentz. *SPAW*, 504-607

New Testament 1970 *The New English Bible: The New Testament.* 2nd ed. Cambridge

P.Pelliot (1914), Mo-ni et manichéens. *JA XI:3*, 461-470

L.Petech (1977), *The Kingdom of Ladakh c.950-1842 A.D.* Roma

E.Sachau (1905), Litteratur [sic!] - Bruchstücke aus Chinesisch-Turkistan. *SPAW*, 964-978

-- (1919), *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien.* (APAW 1919, Phil.-hist. Kl.1.) Berlin

Y.Saeki (1951), *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China.* 2nd ed. Tokyo

B.Spuler (1961), Die nestorianische Kirche. B.Spuler (ed.), *Handbuch der Orientalistik I:8:2.* Leiden/Köln, 120-169

R.A.Stein (1979), Recherches relatives aux débuts du lamaïsme (Tibet). In: Résumé de cours et travaux, année scolaire 1978-1979. *Annuaire du Collège de France 79*, 549-555

-- (1980), Une mention du manichéisme dans le choix du bouddhisme comme religion d'état par le roi tibétain Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan. *Indianisme et bouddhisme: Mèlanges offerts à Mgr Étienne Lamotte*. Louvain-la-Neuve, 329-337

J.Stewart (1928), *Nestorian missionary enterprise*. Edinburgh

W.Sundermann (1968), Christliche Evangelientexte in der Überlieferung der iranisch-manichäischen Literatur. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung 14*, 386-415

-- (1979), Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos. *Altorientalische Forschungen 6*, 95-133

Taishō J.Takakusu/K.Watanabe (eds.), *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō. Vols. 51, 54, 55*. [Repr. of the ed. 1928.] Tōkyō 1973, 1977, 1977

S.Tezcan (1974), *Das uigurische Insadi-Sūtra*. Berlin

Tibetan Tripiṭaka D.T.Suzuki (ed.), *The Tibetan Tripitaka* [sic!], *Peking Edition. Vols.115, 144*. Tokyo/Kyoto 1957

E.Tisserant (1931), L'Église nestorienne. A.Vacant, E.Mangenot, É.Amann (eds.), *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique 11*. Paris, 157-323

E.Card. Tisserant (1946), Timothée I[er]. A.Vacant, E.Mangenot, É.Amann (eds.), *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique 15*. Paris,1121-1139

G.Tucci (1958), *Minor Buddhist Texts 2*. Roma

-- (1973), *Transhimalaya*. (Archaeologia Mundi.), Delhi

G.Uray (1981), L'emploi du tibétain dans les chancelleries des États du Kan-sou et de Khotan postérieurs à la domination tibétain, *JA 269*, 81-90

J.-M.Vosté (1933), A propos de la date du Gannat Bussāmē. *Revue biblique 42*, 82

-- (1938), Extrait du Gannat Bussāmē. J.Bidez/F.Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés 2*. Paris, 113-117

E.Waldschmidt/W.Lentz (1926), *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*. (APAW 1926, Phil.-hist. Kl.4.) Berlin

A.Waley (1925), Christ or Bodhisattva? *Artibus Asiae 1*, 5 and pl.

-- (1931), *A Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., Preserved in the Sub-Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, and in the Museum of Central Asian Antiquities, Delhi.* London

P.Zieme (1975), *Manichäisch-türkische Texte.* Berlin

-- (1977), Zwei Ergänzungen zu der christlich-türkischen Handschrift T II B 1. *Altorientalische Forschungen 5*, 271-272; pls. XIII-XIV

Abbreviations

AAntH *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*

ACh Ancient Chinese

AOH *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*

APAW Abhandlungen der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften / Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

BSOS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (University of London)*

JA *Journal Asiatique*

OC *Oriens Christianus*

SPAW *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften / Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*